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THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

A STUDY OF ROMISH TACTICS

The Church History Series

IV

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

A Study of Romish Tactics

BY

T. RHYS EVANS

BRIGHTON

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'A questo intende 'l papa e i cardinali;
Non vanno i lor pensieri a Nazzarette,
Là dove Gabriello aperse l'ali.'

Dante, *Par.* ix. 136–138.

'The thing which they called heresy was the fire of Almighty God, which no politic congregation of princes, no State machinery, though it were never so active, could trample out.'—Froude, *Hist. England*, i. *ch.* 2.

A. d. 55.

London

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

56, PATERNOSTER ROW; 65, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD AND 164, PICCADILLY

1888

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BUTLER & TANNER,
THE SELWOOD PRINTING WORKS,
FROME, AND LONDON.

PREFATORY.

THE chief authority consulted in the preparation of this little book is Frà Paolo Sarpi's *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, in Barbèra and Bianchi's edition (4 vols., Florence, 1858), which is specially valuable as containing Courayer's notes. Pallavicino's reply to Sarpi has not been neglected; although, upon all essential points, the Venetian Frate clearly remains master of the situation. Readers desirous of studying for themselves the proceedings of the Council, will find a copious bibliography in Dr. R. F. Littledale's *Short History of the Council of Trent*.

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THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

CHAPTER I.

HOW THE COUNCIL CAME ABOUT.

In the year 1517, Martin Luther, commencing his memorable warfare against indulgences, came into conflict with certain Romish champions, who found it convenient to make the authority of the Pope the keystone of their argument. Luther replied that above the authority of the Pope stood that of a General Council of the Church, and that of such a High Court of Appeal there was urgent need. In 1518, Leo X. cited Luther to Rome, but subsequently conceded that his cause should be tried in Germany. Accordingly Luther met Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg. The interview was unsatisfactory, for the Cardinal was so imperious and unconciliatory that Luther abruptly left the city. At a later period, the Roman Court thought fit to disown Cajetan's tactics, and to complain that his unauthorized severity had driven Luther to despair; but it is evident that the Cardinal faithfully represented the inner mind of Rome. During the next eighteen months the Reformer made rapid progress, and keenly criticised an ever-widening circle

The earliest whispers of a Council, 1517.

Luther and the Papacy.

of Romish practices and doctrines. If, as some have maintained, Leo X. was at first inclined to regard the matter as an obscure German squabble, and to treat it with the judicious indifference of Gallio, he very soon changed his mind, for in June, 1520, he issued a decisive Bull condemning as heretical and damnable forty-one propositions extracted from Luther's books, and allowing him sixty days for recantation. The Reformer burnt the Bull, and issued a manifesto charging the Papacy with tyranny, with perversion of Christian doctrine, and usurpation of the rights of the civil magistrate. At the famous Diet of Worms, in April, 1521, Luther took his final stand, and declined to submit his opinions to the decision of any human authority whatsoever, but to the Word of God alone. Before the Diet closed, Charles V. published a rigorous edict, adjudging Luther a notorious heretic and an outlaw. All his books were to be burnt, his adherents punished, and he himself to be seized at the expiration of his twenty-one days' safe-conduct.

But Charles V. had no leisure to enforce this edict; he was drawn at once into the stream of serious public affairs, in which the Pope also was so greatly interested as to neglect this cloud, of the size of a man's hand, which rested over distant Germany. The Reformation was most providentially assisted by the graver pre-occupations of its bitterest foes—pre-occupations which it is necessary to notice, for the Council of Trent was, from first to last, so immeshed in the coils of secular policy and State intrigue, that, without some knowledge of these, much of its procedure is absolutely unintelligible.

Political Pre-occupations.

The election of the Spanish king, Charles of Aus-

tria, to the imperial throne of Germany in succession to Maximilian, in 1519, had deeply mortified his rival, Francis I. of France. Apart from all considerations of wounded pride, the elevation to this position of imaginative glory and substantial power of a sovereign whose interests were so vitally opposed to his own, could not but fill Francis with alarm. He prepared for action, and there immediately commenced that weary warfare which convulsed Europe for the next quarter of a century, and so seriously affected the religious movements of the period. There was no lack of a *casus belli*. Francis claimed the kingdom of Naples, and was very deeply interested in the exiled king of Navarre. Charles resented the French occupation of the Milanese, regarded Burgundy as rightfully German, and disliked the French claim to the suzerainty of the Flemish provinces. The two monarchs looked around them for allies. The Italian states viewed both of them with apprehension. The Pope, finally deciding to throw in his lot with Charles, entered into an agreement with him for the expulsion of the French from Milan, the restoration of Parma and Piacenza to the Papal States, and the general enrichment of the Medici family. Shortly after the Worms Diet of 1521 hostilities began, and the net result of the first campaign was that the French were driven completely out of the Milanese, and the Pope received his promised reward of Parma and Piacenza.

The State of Europe.

Charles and Francis at war.

Meanwhile, in Germany, the Reformation had thriven. The labours of doctors and prelates, the injunctions of Bulls and edicts were fruitless. Not only had Luther's following numerically increased, but he had stirred

Progress of the German Reformation.

the national consciousness, and had behind him, from an early period of his struggle, the patriotic sentiment of multitudes of German people. There arose from many quarters, and prompted by very diversified motives, a strong desire for a General Council. Devout Catholics, shocked by Church scandals, Lutherans, princes and magistrates, angry at the ever-increasing ecclesiastical encroachments upon the civil domain, groaning peoples—all these were desirous for a Council. And before the Roman Court itself there floated, however vaguely, the vision of a Council that might confirm and extend the Papal power. The Pope was in perplexity. He would gladly have welcomed a Council of the fine old Lateran type, but perceived that no such assembly would satisfy people who were anxious for real and solid reforms; and a Council which would involve reforms he very naturally loathed. Matters standing thus, in December, 1521, Leo X. died.

Death of Leo X., 1521.

The College of Cardinals at once went into conclave. Giulio de Medici, nephew of the deceased pontiff, was strong enough to secure the defeat of any other candidate for the chair; but the aged cardinals, unwilling to ruin their own future chances by the election of so comparatively young a man, steadily blackballed Giulio. The Conclave was obstinately prolonged until, on January 9th, 1522, the Medici party, with the mere intention of whiling away a morning, casually proposed the name of Adrian of Utrecht. The opposition unexpectedly closed with the suggestion, and—to the surprise of the Conclave, and the scornful indignation of the Roman populace—a unanimous vote of the Cardinals raised an unknown foreigner to the Papal chair.

Election of Pope Adrian VI.

Adrian of Utrecht was a learned theologian, and a man of unfeigned simplicity, piety, and purity of character. Very dear to him was the recollection of the homely Dutch life of other days; for he had been called upon, for many years, to walk in strange and uncongenial paths. He had been tutor to Charles V., who, on his election to the imperial throne, appointed his old preceptor to the regency of Spain, an office far too difficult for him. He had had to cope with a serious insurrection, and, overborne by stormier counsels, had taken the wrong course. He landed now in Italy, an aged man, and possibly depressed by past failure, but seems to have fancied that Peter's chair would be an easier resting-place than others that he had known. An almost pathetic hopefulness marked the early days of his administration. Amid a host of difficulties, he fastened, correctly enough, upon the German heresy as the gravest; but even of this he took an unduly sanguine view, believing that he possessed exceptional qualifications for dealing with the troubles of the North. As a scholastic theologian, he regarded Luther's position with contempt. These dissidents could not, he thought, really believe propositions so absurd. The vices of the higher clergy and the abuses of the Roman Court must have goaded the people into unreasoning rebellion. A thorough reformation of these things—which the new Pope himself abominated—would surely so conciliate the Germans as to enable him to settle all religious differences at the next Diet!

Life of Adrian.

Adrian over-sanguine.

But, like other well-intentioned Popes, Adrian soon began to feel the galling of the Roman curb. He found that every abuse had its powerful de-

fenders, its plausible apologists, and that he was in the clutch of an enormous system. He struggled manfully until November, and then—as at Valladolid, surrendering his judgment into the hands of firmer men—drifted into the wrong path, and accepted the counsels of violence.

Disillusion.

Early in 1523, the nuncio Chiericato went to Nuremberg Diet with a letter from Adrian. As the new Pope viewed the Lutheran movement not with the eyes of a politician, but with those of a devout Churchman, it is not surprising that his personal allusions to Luther were far sterner than had been those of Leo. But the really significant feature of Adrian's letter was its absolutely frank admission of the existence of scandalous vices and abuses in the highest places of the Church, and its solemn promise of a reform which, although cautious, should be thorough.

The nuncio at Nuremberg Diet.

The Diet assured the nuncio, that in the present temper of the people, the anti-Lutheran Edict of Worms was practically unworkable, and that the prompt suppression of the abuses so openly confessed would be an indispensable condition of peace. To this end the Diet requested that the Pope would, with the concurrence of the Emperor, summon a pious and free Council, to be held at the earliest possible date, and to be held in Germany. The nuncio, while declaring the inadequacy of the Diet's excuses for not executing the Worms Edict, did not flatly refuse to convey the request for a Council. He insisted, however, that the reference to imperial concurrence, and the specification of the meeting-place should be struck out. He also pressed the Diet for some more reverent answer. But, by this time, the temper of the princes and the representatives of the

The Diet demurs.

cities was roused by the nuncio's evident carelessness of all but Roman interests, and they resolved that no other answer should be sent. Chiericato hastily left Nuremberg, possibly in order to avoid being made the bearer of still more unpleasant despatches; for, at the close of the Diet, the princes drew up their famous document, the *Centum Gravamina*, a list of one hundred Romish grievances. This document they forwarded to Adrian, with an intimation that they would endure these things no longer.

The *Centum Gravamina.*

The Pope's candid confession caused intense displeasure at Rome. But, on Sept. 14*th*, 1523, Adrian died, amid the indecent exultation of the Roman court and populace. Passion, indeed, ran so high, that garlands of flowers were laid at the door of the Pope's physician, with the sinister inscription, 'To the Liberator of his country!' But Italians of a nobler spirit were struck with Adrian's transparent sincerity and piety, and even believed that, had he lived, he might have adjusted the quarrel with Luther. The balance of probability is quite the other way. The controversy had already taken definite shape, and, for the Reformers at least, it conciously involved issues of the deepest and most solemn importance. Their ever-deepening hostility to the whole ecclesiastical system was incapable of being charmed away by any amiability or any piety of individual members. Meanwhile it was valuable that the Reformers' attitude should have been so fully vindicated, at the very outset, by the confession of as honest a man as ever ruled in Rome.

Death of Adrian VI.

Adrian's papacy was brief, but his is a figure that dwells long and impressively in the imagination. There is a certain pathos in this homely, simple-

hearted Dutchman, seated for a brief while, as if by the irony of fortune, in the chair of Leo the Magnificent, panting for breath in this close atmosphere of falsehood and intrigue, and surviving long enough to leave as his epitaph words appropriate to many another pontiff, but in this instance most deeply felt: 'Hic situs est Adrianus VI., qui nihil sibi infelicius in vita duxit, quam quod imperaret.'

His Character.

After a two months' conclave, Giulio de Medici was elected Pope, and assumed the title of Clement VII. He immediately applied his attention to the German question, and, perceiving the tactical blunders of his predecessor, sent Thomas Campeggio to the Nuremberg Diet of 1524, with strict injunctions to ignore the past, and to treat the subject upon an entirely fresh basis. Campeggio strove to enlist the patriotic feelings of the princes on behalf of their ancestral religion, and to render them suspicious of the political tendencies of the Lutheran movement, adding that the Pope merely wished to discuss with the Diet the most effectual remedies for a disorder far more dangerous to themselves than to him. The Diet replied that, while fully conscious of the gravity of the crisis, it had already given its opinion to Chiericato, and was now awaiting some answer to the *Centum Gravamina*. Campeggio acknowledged that the new Pope had seen this document, but had the effrontery to add that it was generally believed, in Rome, to be a malicious forgery. The document, he continued, contained much heresy, but with its more innocent portions he was empowered to deal. The Diet felt that this was mere equivocation, but such was the anxiety

Election of Pope Clement VII.

His programme.

Campeggio at Nuremberg.

for peace, that several princes were deputed to treat with the nuncio. When, however, it became clear that Campeggio was prepared to deal only with the German minor clergy, and would listen to nothing against the Roman court, there was reasonable indignation, and the negotiations came to a deadlock. Finally, on April 18th, the Diet resolved that the Pope and the Emperor be requested to convene a Church Council as soon as possible, in Germany; and that the States should meet at Spires, in November, to arrange upon subject-matter to be brought before the said Council. The nuncio protested that a secular assembly had no right to discuss religious doctrines; the Council-demand he promised to refer to the Pope.

The Diet is resolute.

When the Diet was over, Campeggio met a number of the Catholic princes at Ratisbon, and, after securing from them a pledge for the rigorous execution of the Worms Edict in their territories, published a schedule of 'reforms,' dealing only with the lightest abuses in the lower orders of the Church, and dealing but superficially with these. This Ratisbon meeting gave great offence to the members of the German Diet; they were angry that a hole-and-corner assembly should treat public questions, they resented the nuncio's interference, and were indignant at his parodies of reform. On the other hand, Charles V. was seriously displeased with the Diet for venturing upon such bold measures during his absence; measures, too, so calculated to offend the Pope, whose aid he was desirous of securing against Francis. He therefore wrote a severe letter to the Diet, vetoing the proposed meeting at Spires, and enjoining the strict observance of his anti-

The Ratisbon fiasco.

The Princes not pleased with the Emperor.

Lutheran edict. The letter was couched in language to which German princes were unaccustomed to listen, and it kindled a dangerous temper.

We must not, however, be tempted into essaying any sketch of the remaining ten years of the pontificate of Clement VII., years so important in the history of Europe, so calamitous and humiliating for the Pope himself. They were full of wars between Charles and Francis, in which Clement was involved by his own wilfulness, and in which he suffered the just reward of an inconstancy so absolute as to amount almost to a constitutional disease. Mr. Froude has drawn the portrait of Clement with a very gentle hand. The kindliest comparison of him that could be made is to our own Charles I. There are many points of resemblance; but, taken as a whole, the comparison would be sadly unfair to the English monarch. Few pontificates had been more discreditable; few had dragged the chair through such depths of humiliation. The historian Guicciardini records that 'he died, hated by his court and distrusted by princes; a man of sinister reputation, being deemed avaricious, faithless, and naturally ill-disposed to benefit men.' Even Pallavicino confesses that his death was regarded with as much joy as had hailed his election. Our especial work here is to trace the development and progress of the Council-project. The threatened Council was one of the engrossing terrors that oppressed the heart of Clement VII. His many schemes for preventing its assembly reveal a most astonishing fertility of resource. He succeeded in staving off the evil day; but the growing expression of opinion in favour of a Council—especially by very many of the Cardinals

The Papacy of Clement VII.

—made it clear that this course of policy was nearing its last days.

Clement VII. died on September 23, 1534.

During a Papal interregnum, it was the usual practice of the Cardinals to draw up a list of reforms and projects, which each member of the College swore to carry out in the event of his election. 'In the taking of this oath,' says Sarpi, in his dry way, 'there is usually mental reservation!' After Clement's death, the Cardinals—whether for the sake of keeping up appearances, or else convinced by the disastrous and shameful occurrences during the last papacy that the pressure from without was becoming irresistible—agreed that the new Pope should call a Council within twelve months. There was, however, no time to register this decision by oath, for, on the very first day of conclave, Cardinal Farnese was elected Pope. Farnese was Dean of the College; he had been a man of affairs during six pontificates, and had thus immense experience, and a high reputation for sagacity and prudence. He was a Roman citizen—a fact which greatly added to the popularity of his election.

There is to be a Council.

Election of Pope Paul III.

Farnese assumed the name of Paul III. He very rapidly decided on his policy with regard to the Council question. He saw that the demand was too strong to be openly resisted; he was confident of his power to ensure the holding of a Council at a time and place agreeable to himself; he felt that he could manipulate it in the interests of the papacy, and also that it would provide him with valuable excuses for parrying many of the requests by which every new Pope was liable to be pestered. He

What is he going to do about the Council?

therefore took an early occasion of expressing his sense of the urgent need of a Council. He urged the Cardinals to begin by reforming themselves, and appointed three of them to consult on subjects of reform. He harped upon this primal need of reforming the College and the Court; and yet it was noted that his three consulting Cardinals were the dullest and most sluggish in the whole body. In December, Paul made his two boy-nephews Cardinals, and gave up talking about the reform of the College. But the proposal of a Council still went on. In the Consistory of Jan. 16, 1535, Paul moved every listener by the unction with which he declared his resolve to hold a Council. He was about, as he said, to send nuncios to all the Christian princes, to exhort their aid, adding that, as to time and place, his mind was still open. The nuncios were to ascertain secretly what place each prince would prefer, and Paul would then play them off against one another. And England was to be offered as a spoil to all who would attack heretic Henry.

He must have a Council.

Verger was sent into Germany to sound the Protestant princes, and to use all industry to win back Luther and the chief Lutheran ministers; for sagacious Paul was still confident that smooth words would reclaim Luther! While thus affecting zeal for a Council that would satisfy the Protestants, Paul was inwardly resolved that it should be held in Italy, and at Mantua.

Verger goes to explore.

Verger saw several Protestant princes, and informed them that the Pope had decided to hold a Council, and had selected Mantua as a very secure and convenient place. Germany, he added, was too full of Ana-

Sees the Princes.

baptists, and other wild and furious sects, to admit of the Council's being held there. The princes merely replied that the Smalcaldic Confederation would meet in December, and that he should receive his answer then.

At Wittenberg, Verger saw Luther. The story of the great Reformer's conversation with him is deeply interesting and characteristic. Verger was urbanity itself: 'We all respect you! Want you back! You might be so much, do so much! That was a sad blunder of Leo and Cajetan. I am no theologian; but it stands to reason that you ought to be reconciled with the Head of the Church. Your doctrine is only eighteen years old, but—look at its frightful consequences! Why not keep your opinions to yourself? Now, there is going to be a Council at Mantua. It will put everything straight. Do come, and give us your vast influence. Our new Pope is so munificent, and has such a keen eye for merit.'

Sees Luther!

Verger is expansive.

Luther fell upon his mellifluous visitor with a vigour akin to ferocity; his reply was in substance: 'I care nothing for Rome's hatred or for Rome's gifts. I am an unprofitable servant, but I am serving God. I can see that you are no theologian. Cajetan's conduct was providential. It made me look into things. Did Christ and His apostles live like your Court? The results of my teaching are exactly what Christ predicted. You Romans wish to govern the Church as if it were a temporal kingdom. You had better let God govern His Church! I can't make your Council a success; your Pope can, if he lets God's Spirit freely guide it, and takes the Bible as his only standard. But I haven't much hope of

Luther is difficult.

that!' Luther told Verger that it were easier for the Pope to become a Lutheran than for himself to be won back to Rome. And all the Lutheran ministers who were worth anything were equally rigid.

In December, Verger received his promised reply from the Smalcaldic Confederates. It amounted to this: 'Like all pious men, we desire—and would attend—a legitimate Council. But Mantua is absurdly impossible. It has been decided, times and times over, that the Council shall be held in Germany; it must be a free tribunal; its form and method of procedure must be determined by the princes.'

Smalcalde answers Verger.

Early in 1536, Verger returned to Rome with the news of the inflexibility of Luther and his followers. The Pope was inwardly pleased at being able to pose as the eager promoter of a Council which the opposition of others enabled him steadily to defer. He made Verger Bishop of Capo d' Istria, and sent him to report to the Emperor Charles V., who was at this time at Naples, fresh from his brilliantly successful campaign in Barbary. He was now engaged in adjusting Neapolitan affairs, and in preparing to defend the Milanese against Francis, meanwhile beguiling his antagonists with the hope of a peaceful cession of that district. In April, Charles came to Rome, and had much talk with the Pope, and, *inter alia*, upon the religious question. Paul urged him to reduce the German Protestants by the sword. The Emperor replied that he could not leave Italy without losing the Milanese. But this was precisely what the Pope wanted; so he pleaded that he and Venice could deal far more effectively with France if the Em-

Verger carries his message.

Charles V. in Rome.

peror kept out of the way. Charles was keen enough to see what this meant: he finally replied that he felt strongly inclined to crush the Protestants, but that it was imperative, first of all, that his course should be made clear by a definite announcement of the Council. This forced the Pope's hand, and, on June 2nd, he issued a Bull, dilating upon his many labours in the interests of peace and religion, and convening a Council at Mantua for May 27th, 1537. The times seemed unfavourable for a Council, for Charles and Francis plunged almost immediately into serious warfare. Not content with clearing the Milanese, Charles insisted upon invading Provence. Francis adopted a masterly Fabian defensive. After making vain attempts on Marseilles and Arles, and a faint-hearted movement towards Avignon, where the French troops were massed, the Imperialists were forced to quit the purposely desolated territory. A miserably disorderly and precipitate retreat finally brought Charles to Milan, whence he departed, in November, for Barcelona. His temper was not improved by an earnest request from the Protestants that he would keep his promises with regard to the Council.

Paul III. calls a Council at Mantua.

Much Warfare

Early next year (1537), the Emperor sent his vice-chancellor, Heldo, to exhort the Protestants to accept the Pope's Bull. He assured them of the conveniency and security of Mantua, and promised them an Imperial safe-conduct of the amplest possible character. But the Protestants replied with dogged tenacity: 'The Pope is not to be the head of the Council. How can we impeach the Pope and his court, if he stands as judge? We demand a

The Lutherans will not have a Papalist Council.

free Christian Council, with the Bible as the all-decisive standard. As for the place, the Imperial Diet has fixed Germany. We Germans are not addicted to subtle plots and clandestine ways of killing men. Nothing can make Mantua safe for us. As for your safe-conduct, what was the value of Sigismond's safe-conduct to John Huss at Constance?'

During this year, the war flickered about in the Netherlands and in Piedmont, until at last truces were made and plenipotentiaries appointed to arrange final terms of peace. Thus there was a momentary calm. But what of the Council that was to have met at Mantua in May? It had curiously fallen through, owing to the Duke of Mantua's resolute claim to the sole command of any garrison that might be deemed necessary for the protection of the Council, and his refusal to admit even the semblance of Papal jurisdiction in his city.

Council falls through.

Whereupon there came forth a deprecatory Bull, asserting that the Pope was not responsible for the break-down of the Mantuan project, and adjourning the Council until November, its place of meeting to be fixed during the interval. The King of England immediately published a manifesto, denouncing this Mantua episode as a mere burlesque, and suggesting that the best plan would be for all kings and princes to follow his example, and each of them to undertake the religious reform of his own dominions. And in Italy itself there was much grumbling. People said that the Duke of Mantua's action was clearly justifiable. They ominously inquired the reason for the Pope's three years' silence as to his boasted court reforms. To parry this criticism, Paul ordered a

Henry VIII. chimes in.

committee to schedule abuses and suggest remedies. Alas! what task could be easier, at least, in its former half? The committee drew up a most weighty paper, the only fault of which—and this fault scarcely the committee's!—was its bewildering bulkiness. The paper caused much debate in Consistory. Here and there a stray voice cried: 'Reform is needed! Fearlessly do the right!' But the general opinion was, that this was a bad time at which to reform anything; that it was better to tolerate the known than to risk a worse unknown, and that the Lutherans would boast that they had forced the Pope to reform. After long discussion, Consistory adjourned, resolving to keep the report very secret. But a copy found its way into Germany; it fell into the printing-press, and reminded the Protestants of the vital necessity of reform, and the idleness of the fancy that it would ever be executed by ecclesiastics.

Consistory thinks about Reforms.

Some time after the Mantua failure, the Pope selected Vicenza as the meeting-place of the Council, at Easter, 1538. When that date arrived, the non-attendance of prelates—partly due to the unsettled state of Europe, and partly due, no doubt, to their fear of a second fiasco—compelled an adjournment until Easter, 1539: before which period, however, the political objections of the Venetians to raise the suspicion of the Sultan, with whom they were in negotiation, by the presence of a large Christian assembly within their territory, made Vicenza an impossible rendezvous; whereupon the Pope adjourned the Council *sine die*.

Vicenza falls through, 1538-1539.

Paul had meanwhile succeeded in securing a ten years' truce between Charles and Francis, the first

result of which was to fill the German Protestants with anxiety. The years of war-tumult had been of infinite service to the Reformation; but the princes had been alarmed by the tone of Heldo's message, and yet more so by the rumour of a Catholic league. The year 1539 opened unquietly, and the Protestants thought of arming. They were reassured by a meeting held at Frankfort in the spring, at which it was decided to hold a conference at Nuremberg in August, when the theologians, the princes, the representatives of Charles and Ferdinand, were amicably to discuss the religious question, with a promise that the conclusions then arrived at should be ratified by the Emperor at the next Diet. The Pope, greatly vexed at this Frankfort arrangement, hurried an envoy into Spain, to induce Charles to veto the proposed meeting. The mission was resultless. Shortly afterwards came the death of the Emperor; the revolt of Ghent; Charles V. became deeply absorbed in affairs, and hence, as regards Council and Conference matters, the year 1539 passed barrenly away.

1539.

Frankfort Meeting.

The Pope disapproves.

Revolt of Ghent.

After recapturing Ghent in April, 1540, the Emperor repudiated his engagements with Francis, and, as this step opened possibilities of war, had to think somewhat carefully of Germany, where the Protestants were pressing him for the promised Conference. Charles and Ferdinand discussed the subject at Brussels, and resolved, despite the strong opposition of Cardinal Farnese, to try the path of concord.

1540.

Charles V. courts the Protestants.

The first result of this decision was a meeting at

Huguenau, which was attended by many Romish and Lutheran divines, between whom contention waxed so fierce, that Ferdinand dismissed the assembly, after fixing a Conference at Worms in October. To this Worms Conference there came, in due course, the Emperor's representative Granvella, Bishop Campeggio on the part of the Pope, and also our old friend Verger, posing, for greater impressiveness, as the mandatory of France, and causing some stir by circulating broadcast his pamphlet 'On Church Unity and Peace, and that a National Council is no good method of securing this.' After much artful and intentional obstruction, Melanchthon and John Eck began to discuss 'Original Sin,' but, three days later, the Conference was adjourned until the Ratisbon Diet of next March,—the Papal nuncio having so disquieted the Emperor, that he judged it expedient to preside in person over these doctrinal disputations. It was also arranged that a nuncio, with, as was hoped, plenipotentiary powers, should attend at Ratisbon.

Worms Colloquy

Adjourns.

In March, 1541, Charles opened this historic Diet. The first act of the nuncio, Gaspar Contarini, was to apologize for his non-possession of plenipotentiary powers, adding, however, that he was empowered to deal with the Protestants, if they would admit the Papal primacy, the validity of Romish sacraments, and the Bull of Leo X.,—a proposal so ridiculous as to countenance the suspicion that the secret mission of the nuncio was to secure the failure of the Conference. The Emperor selected six divines to frame a formula of concord for proposal to the Diet and to the Legate. For the Catholics, Charles nominated John Eck, Julius Pflugl, and

1541. Ratisbon Diet.

The Divines confer.

John Gropper, of Cologne; for the Lutherans, Melanchthon, Bucer, and Pistorius. He handed to these champions a schedule of twenty-two articles, to serve as the basis of their deliberations. On several purely theological articles the disputants reached substantial agreement; but on such points as the Eucharist, the Invocation of Saints, the Mass, the right of the laity to the Cup, the power of the Church, Penance, Celibacy, etc., they were hopelessly at variance. They finally submitted a statement of their agreements and disagreements. When the Emperor reported this to the Diet, the bishops rejected the schedule and the entire action of the Conference. It was, however, finally agreed, in the interests of peace, that Charles and the Legate should examine the papers, and that Charles should do his utmost to induce the Protestants to accept some formula of concord. The Legate advised that all disputed points in the schedule should be referred to the Pope, who would define the Catholic sense of the controverted articles. The impression naturally produced upon the Emperor's mind, and upon that of every unprejudiced person, was that the Legate was willing for the non-disputed points to be regarded as valid until a formal conciliary decision, —a surmise which is confirmed by the fact that Contarini's proposal was deemed very unsatisfactory by the Catholics. The Emperor now bade the Diet decide whether or no the articles agreed upon are to be received and held as indisputably Christian, until the impending Council or a final religious Diet? The electors said: 'By all means. But—see whether you cannot go further now: if not, try to convene, as soon as possible, and in Germany, a General, or, at any rate, a National Council!' The

Opinions in the Diet.

Protestants agreed with this, but would accept no 'papalist' Council. But the bishops, with a few Catholic princes, took exception to the whole proceedings of the Diet, and insisted that the religious question should be referred in its entirety to a General Council. And now the Legate hastened to explain that he had never meant to sanction the holding of the non-disputed articles until a Council: he had meant that everything was to be referred to the Pope; and Contarini, evidently alarmed at the unguardedness of his former utterances, or stiffened by the attitude of the Catholic party in the Diet, carefully defined his position in writing. Further, he toiled with desperate earnestness to quash the proposal for a National Council. But the princes assured him that unless the Pope convened a General Council at once, a National Council was unavoidable.

The Legate is elusive.

After long discussion, Charles dissolved the Diet on July 28th, after inducing it to decide that the articles agreed upon by the six divines should be held inviolate by all; the other articles were to be referred to a General Council, or, failing this, to a German Synod: meanwhile, there was to be no innovation, no proselytising, no attack upon Church revenues, or upon the rights of monasteries. Paul III. was greatly displeased at all this; especially at the Conference, the reiterated threat of a National Synod. The Protestants, also, were displeased at a fancied abridgment of their liberties; so the Emperor suspended the Augsburg Edict, and gave them other ample declarations. His affairs made such concessions a necessity, as he foresaw a rupture with Francis, and was alarmed at the Sultan's movements in

Ratisbon decisions.

Hungary. In return for the concessions, the Protestants very cheerfully supported the vote of war-contributions.

Early in 1542, the Pope informed the Spires Diet that he had resolved that the Council should assemble on August 13th, and that, although Ferrara, Bologna, or Piacenza would have been more suitable, he had selected Trent as the meeting-place, on account of its nearness to the German frontier. Ferdinand and the Catholic princes, after a despairing suggestion in favour of Ratisbon or Cologne, accepted Trent; but the Protestants emphatically refused it, nor would they have anything to do with any Council convened by the Pope.

1542.

The Pope announces Council at Trent.

However, on May 22nd, the Pope issued his Bull of Intimation,—a document containing an exquisitely *naïve* sketch of the Council negotiations of the last few years. The Bull appeared rather inopportunely, for Francis was placing five armies in the field. The campaign, which instantly opened, was indecisive in its results, but filled Europe with confusion and pre-occupation highly unpropitious to careful thought upon religious questions. Notwithstanding this, the Pope appointed three Legates, and sent them on to Trent, with strict orders simply to receive any bishops who might attend, but to attempt no serious business until further notice. He also sent a few reliable bishops, and directed others to go as slowly as possible. Charles V., although far from sanguine, sent Granvella and Don Diego Mendoza to watch his interests.

The Bull of Convocation.

War.

It was not until January, 1543, that the Papal

and Imperial representatives confronted each other at Trent, when Mendoza presented his credentials, and begged that the discussion of reforms might at once commence. The Legates politely regretted that there were too few bishops present; and, despite all Imperialist remonstrances, clung to their policy of 'masterly inactivity.' In a short time, the Emperor recalled Granvella to attend the Diet at Nuremberg, charging Mendozza to keep the phantom Council together. At Nuremberg, the Protestants refused to vote war-funds, without a religious guarantee wholly independent of this papalist meeting at Trent, which they sternly repudiated. The Diet broke up in confusion, whereupon Mendoza departed to Venice, and, after six idle months, all the members of the Council gradually slipped away from Trent.

Attempts to begin the Council, 1543.

Abortive.

Trent empties.

During this year, the great European war drew to a head. Henry VIII. of England, alienated from Francis by reason of Scottish affairs, was now in close league with Charles V. In Europe, Francis I. had no allies, but, by way of amends, he had tightened his discreditable compact with the Sultan, and had procured the services of a corsair fleet under Barbarossa. Francis himself took the field very early in the Netherlands, menacing Hainault, and being for some time practically master of Luxemburg. Charles moved in August, and succeeded in driving back the French; but their defensive operations were, as usual, so admirable as to compel him to go into winter quarters. Meanwhile the Sultan Solyman had punctually fulfilled his engagements, invading Hungary in great force, and alarm-

The War comes to a head.

The allies of Francis.

ing Charles for the eastern frontiers of his empire. Even more shameful for his Christian ally were the naval operations of Barbarossa, whose fleet cruised in the Mediterranean, sacked Reggio, touched at Ostia (thereby threatening Rome), and passing on to Marseilles, joined a French fleet in besieging Nice; which town, stubbornly defended, was finally relieved by Admiral Doria and the Marquis Guasto.

At the close of the campaign, Charles V. resolved, at any cost, to weld together against his foes the vast but unwieldy strength of Germany. Early in the year he met a very full Diet at Spires, and appealed to the general loyalty of his subjects against a prince whom he branded as the disturber of European peace and the active ally of the infidel. The Diet was profoundly moved by the vivid narratives of Hungary and Nice. Charles clinched the matter by promising large concessions to the Protestants; and in return for these, the deputies were unanimous and liberal in granting war-subsidies. To gain these, the Emperor had suspended all religious edicts, and had expressed his intention of securing a free Council in Germany. The Pope was grievously offended, and wrote in August a most indignant letter to the Emperor, declaring that this Spires decree imperilled his soul, and that he might expect the fate of Uzzah, Dathan, and Abiram! 'Leave Church reform to me,' quoth the Pope. 'Stop your ears, and there will be a Council! Obey me; keep religion out of your Diet; place everything in my hands, or——!'

Germany begins to move.

Charles promises a Council.

At the very time, however, when the Pope despatched this haughty letter, the European situation

was very materially and unexpectedly altering. Charles V. was far from satisfied with the results of his alliance with Henry VIII.; and there were many other circumstances that made the German Emperor anxious for peace. Accordingly, in September, 1544, the war was suddenly closed, so far as Charles and Francis were concerned, by the Treaty of Crespy, whereby, in addition to various territorial adjustments, both sovereigns pledged themselves to make war upon the Sultan, to co-operate for a Church Council, and to crush heresy. This treaty skilfully relieved the Emperor of his gravest anxieties, although the Netherlands or the Milanese seemed a heavy price to pay. And the treaty had the additional advantage of leaving Francis still entangled in hostilities with Henry VIII.

Treaty of Crespy, 1544.

This reconciliation of Charles and Francis—made independently of himself, and involving as one of its articles co-operation for a Council—naturally displeased the Pope, who felt, however, that these new friends would soon quarrel, and that he would be able to manipulate the Council to suit his own wishes. He resolved to anticipate any formal request for its convocation, and accordingly issued a Bull filled with pious joy at 'the removal of the only hindrance,' and convening the Council to meet at Trent on March 15th, 1545.

The Pope stirs himself.

Trent again.

The notice was designedly brief for the distant bishops, for the Pope was anxious that all points relating to the procedure of the Council should be settled by his own Italian dependants. He told the Emperor that the brevity of the notice was merely and solely to please him! Charles, however, was

very far from pleased. He had intended himself to pose as the author of the Council, but the Pope had forced his hand. Still, he saw that the Council, by giving the Lutherans some hope of speedy Church reforms, might be made serviceable to his own political plans. He therefore ordered the Spanish and Neapolitan bishops to attend in force.

The Pope intrigues in Germany.

The Pope now sent Cardinal Farnese into Germany to confer with the Catholics, and then to attach himself specially to the Emperor; while the Bishop of Grosseto was to accompany Ferdinand to the approaching Worms Diet, as Papal representative. The Pope was very anxious that his Legates should reach Trent before the arrival of any other members of the Council. In the selection of these officials, Paul enjoyed Rome's traditional felicity in the choice of its servants. The Legates for Trent were Maria Giovanni di Monte, Cardinal of Palestrina; Marcello Cervini, Cardinal of Santa Croce; and Reginald Pole. Monte had been signalled out for his loyalty and rare business abilities; Santa Croce was a man of exquisite learning and intrepid constancy of character; while the appointment of Reginald Pole—a man of most noble birth and stainless reputation—was a delicate compliment to the English nation, and a convincing proof that there were Englishmen who were not heretics.

The Legates for Trent.

On March 15th, 1545, Cardinals Monte and Santa Croce entered Trent, and were reverently received by Madruccio, its bishop. They found, to their satisfaction, that they were the first in the field. Their first act was to examine their Bull of Powers.

The Pope had given them plenary authority, qualified, however, by the proviso that they were to proceed in all matters 'with the consent of the Council.' The Legates were dissatisfied with this Bull, foreseeing that its limiting clause would embarrass them. They at once wrote to Rome, begging that their authority over the Council might be absolute and unconditional.

On March 25th, the Imperial ambassador, Don Diego Mendoza, arrived from Venice, and was received by the Legates, Madruccio, and three other bishops. Three or four days later, he opened the ball by handing in a paper, expressing the kindly feeling of the Emperor, announcing that the Spanish bishops were well on their way, apologizing for his own tardiness on the score of illness, and proposing to begin conciliatory proceedings *at once*, by the discussion of reforms. The Legates sent him a written reply, complimenting the Emperor, condoling with the ambassador on his illness, and 'wishing that more bishops would arrive'! They had resolved not to open the Council until Grosseto should bring them some report of the proceedings at the Worms Diet. They also wanted the Pope's opinion of Mendoza's proposal as to the course of business. They wrote to Rome on this and other points; and it is worthy of remark that they also begged for duplicate despatches and a cypher!

Mendoza wants to begin.

At the Worms Diet, held by Ferdinand in March, the Protestants were in a highly suspicious mood, and fell back upon their old formula: no war grants without a guarantee of religious peace and toleration, quite independent of the papalist meeting at Trent. Ferdinand, how-

Worms Diet.

ever, was inflexible, and it was found necessary to communicate with the Emperor, and to beg him to come to Worms.

The Pope was in a state of constant apprehension that the Emperor would come to terms with his Protestant subjects. He now hit upon the nefarious plan of fomenting a religious civil war in Germany, and sent Cardinal Farnese to sound Charles upon this and other points. Farnese took Trent on his way, and exhorted the Legates not to open the Council until he had seen the Emperor. They now wrote to the Pope for funds to meet incidental expenses, to help poor bishops, and to entertain important men. At the beginning of May, ten bishops having arrived, a congregation was held to arrange preliminaries. It dealt chiefly with points of ceremonial, and finally resolved to wait for the arrival of more bishops.

The Pastor of Christendom!

As soon as the Emperor reached Worms, he was approached by Farnese, who said in effect: 'We shall open the Council when we know a little more about the Diet. Crush the Lutherans by force! The Pope will give you, for this purpose, 12,500 men, large subsidies in cash, and help in every possible way.' Charles V. replied that he was disposed to accept this offer, but that he must first of all make peace with the Turk; he would then divide the Protestants, and master them in detail. He enjoined upon Farnese the strictest secrecy until the hour came for action. Farnese, however, did not wholly keep the secret, and from the unguarded utterances of certain Catholic preachers, as well as from the advices of their commercial correspondents with regard to mysterious recruiting of troops in Holland

Charles V. will crush the Protestants!

and in Italy, the Protestants began to suspect war preparations intended against themselves. At Worms they remained inflexible, and on August 4th, Charles closed the Diet, announcing a similar assembly at Ratisbon in the following January. Meanwhile he renewed his religious concessions, and ordained an adequate scheme of military contributions. The Protestants departed from Trent, issuing this decisive proclamation: 'We do not accept Trent. It is not in Germany. It is absolutely under the control of the Pope, who is himself a cited party.' They renewed their Smalcaldic confederation for purposes of mutual defence. The only men of standing who stood aloof from this league were Maurice of Saxony, and, shortly afterwards, Frederick of the Palatinate, who, although Protestants, adopted a curiously sphinx-like attitude of their own, and were very complaisant to the Emperor.

The Protestants repudiate Trent Council.

About this time—the Duke of Orleans dying before the consummation of the marriage agreed upon in the Treaty of Crespy—the Milanese question once more re-opened, and was destined to affect very materially the affairs of Trent.

During these summer months, some forty members of the Council had reached that city, and, as time went on, they chafed sorely at the enforced inactivity. The Legates refused furlough for holiday jaunts to Venice and Milan. The poorer bishops found it difficult to live. By the end of June they were almost in open mutiny. The Legates begged the Pope to make some settled provision for the poor, but to do it warily, so as to give no occasion for Protestant sneers. Still, there was great and grow-

Trent hangs fire.

ing friction at Trent. This reached its height when the prelates heard of the Emperor's renewal of concessions at Worms, and his arrangements for a religious conference at Ratisbon. They were not behind the scenes, and therefore to them Charles's conduct was none other than a deliberate insult to the Church, and a flouting of the Council. The Legates could not stem the tide of discontent: bishop after bishop found excuses for departure, or stole secretly away, so that, by the end of September, comparatively few were left.

Empties again.

Very soon, indeed, it began to be perceived, even at Rome, that Charles V., by keeping the opening of the Council in suspense, was playing his own game with the Lutherans. That the Council should be visibly extant, suited Charles admirably. If it would have dealt mainly and thoroughly with reforms, he would have hailed its opening; but, foreseeing, correctly enough, that it would deal chiefly with dogma, and would thus inevitably widen the breach, he preferred that its active proceedings should be as far as possible postponed.

Charles V. plays with the Council.

The Pope was greatly perplexed. In August he resolved to bring this vexatious deadlock to an end. He therefore sent the Bishop of Caserta to the Emperor, to urge that the Council be either opened at once, or transferred to some other place, or suspended, so as to give time to see what might be done at the Ratisbon Conference or Diet. Charles was embarrassed by this request, as none of the courses suggested suited his purpose. At last, in mid-October, after much meditation, he wrote back: 'Open the Council; but treat reform subjects

solely, so as not to irritate the Protestants!' The Pope was wrathful at this suggestion; but, concealing his displeasure, replied that, to oblige the Emperor, he would open the Council at once. He said nothing about the order of business, but was secretly resolved that the Council should be mainly occupied with questions of dogma. On October 31st, Paul sent instructions to the Legates to open the Council on *Gaudete* Sunday, December 13th—a message which caused great rejoicing at Trent. On November 30th, the Legates sent post-haste to Rome for the 'Bull of Opening,' which arrived on Dec. 11th. On the 12th, there was a solemn fast, and a congregation was held, at which the Bull was read, and final arrangements were made for the morrow's ceremony. Pacheco, the Spanish Bishop of Jaen, rather fluttered the Legates by his suave request (which was somewhat numerously supported) that the Legates' Bull of Powers might be read to the congregation. But Legate Santa Croce skilfully parried the demand, and succeeded in keeping the Bull secret, thus preserving for the dignity of the Legates the vagueness of the unknown.

The Pope decides to open on Dec. 13th.

At last, then, after a twenty-eight years' gestation, the genuine Council of Trent has come to its birth! This chequered history of its preliminaries is scarcely of a character to reassure the rational reader as to the purity, sincerity, and straightforwardness of Romish methods. The fierce partisan will affirm, with a measure of plausibility, that the Romish authorities had deliberately juggled with a deeply solemn question. The very least that can be said is, that

Retrospect and prospect.

they had shown throughout a timidity, a shiftiness, an unveracity such as most seriously to jeopardise their immense claims upon the spiritual allegiance of Christendom. Originally demanded by Protestants, the Council came at least twenty years too late, for the Reformation had now completely shaped itself. Its adherents might now say, in the noble words of Luther: 'Rome can give us nothing like the Word of God.' They contemptuously laughed aside this Papal assembly. Nor is it credible that any one was now simple enough to suppose that any Romish Council could reclaim the German Lutherans. Certainly not Paul III., who at this very hour was secretly preparing to crush them by the sword! In the Pope's mind, that scheme of so closing the gates of the Church, and stiffening its dogmas, as to make reconciliation impossible, which became the crowning achievement of Trent, may have been already shaping itself. Nor did the Council open with good omens. It was obvious that its course would be affected throughout by changeful secular policies. On the side of Germany, the sky was black with tempest; and, looking towards France, and even Spain, there were discernible 'clouds of the size of a man's hand,' destined to swell and to bring storms which the Council and the Church will have to weather. Not without shame and humiliation, intolerable unless to seared consciences, did this Council get itself finished. Its triumphs, due to subtle diplomacy, unwearied patience, and miraculous callousness, were, many of them, as shameful as its defeats.

Mr. Kinglake has described, in an impressive paragraph of his great work, the first glimpse of the

Crimean shores caught by the Allied Expedition, as the ships cruised slowly on towards an unknown anchorage. He has told us how, all unwittingly, the men gazed out upon the scene of glory and of death. Momentous too, and pathetic in its ignorance of the great issues involved, was the coming of these prelates to Trent, as, many of them after toilsome journey through wintry snows, they dropped desultorily in during those last weeks of 1545. Coming, as the bulk of them came, from the south, and following the upward course of the rapid Adige, they would have passed through scenes of the wildest desolation. Not many miles this side of Trent, they would find their road forced by the bulging mountain precipices close upon the roaring stream, and near it a rocky wilderness of *débris*, guarded by sombre cypresses. And some of the pilgrims might remember or discover that the eye of a greater pilgrim than any of them had rested upon this scene centuries ago, and that Dante had remembered it when seeking images for his infernal ramparts. Coming to Trent, they came to a stately old town—the *Tridentum* of Augustus—a town with marble palaces and castles more or less dilapidated,—a lonely town, on the way from Verona to Innsbruck, nestling in a curious highland valley, where for a while the rapid river seems to rest from so passionately rushing towards the sea: a secluded retreat, almost in the 'fauces' of Germany. With what heart did the bishops, most of them lovers of cities, glance upon their new surroundings? Their gaze could not reveal the future. They did not know that, for some of them, this was the destined place of death—for few indeed the place of glory; nor that, for many, it meant the death of

honour and of faith. All this was hidden from their eyes. But if any Council-man was haunted, on that night of December 12th, by evil dreams, these were but the shadowy forecast of worse realities to come.

CHAPTER II.

FROM SESSION I. UNTIL THE REMOVAL TO BOLOGNA.

ON the morning of December 13th, 1545, the Legates, accompanied by twenty-five bishops in their pontifical robes, the theologians, and a number of Trentine and foreign clergy, marched in solemn procession from the Church of the Trinity to the Cathedral. Cardinal Monte said mass, and the Bishop of Bitonto preached a long and tawdrily rhetorical sermon. Then was read the Bull of Convocation. After this, Mendoza's secretary presented the Imperial mandate, and a letter from the ambassador, excusing his absence on the ground of ill-health. The president graciously accepted the apology, and intimated that the mandate should be duly examined. The assembly then knelt in silent prayer; the president said aloud (in the common name) the *Adsumus Domine;* next came the Litany and the reading of the Gospel, 'The Mission of the Seventy;' and finally was sung the *Veni Creator Spiritus.* At the close of the religious exercises, Cardinal Monte put the question: 'Does it please the Fathers, to the glory of God, the extirpation of heresies, the reformation of clergy and laity, and the downfall of the enemies of the Christian name, that the sacred and general Council of Trent commence, and is hereby commenced?' The reply was unanimous: *Placet!* 'And that the

Session I., Dec. 13th, 1545.

session stand now adjourned until January 7th?' *Placet.* The notaries were ordered to draw up an instrument of the proceedings. Then was sung the *Te Deum Laudamus:* and the Fathers, having assumed their ordinary garb, departed as they came, the crucifix being solemnly borne at the head of the procession.

The Council was now fairly open, and the Legates began to be oppressed with care. They felt that henceforward they would be continually exposed to sudden and awkward questioning; and on many important points they were ignorant of their master's will. Were they to treat dogma, or reform, or both subjects concurrently? Was the voting to be by heads or by nations? Was their progress to be rapid or slow? They begged the Pope to send them minute and frequent instructions: once more they complained of poverty, and asked for cash to meet their manifold expenses. And they were as nervously apprehensive of being cut off from their base as if they had been soldiers in an enemy's country, for they entreated him to see that relays of post-horses should be kept in constant readiness between Trent and Rome.

The Legates begin to be anxious.

Meanwhile, as the Fathers displayed an embarrassing alacrity for work, the Legates set them to study the Bull of Convocation. When the Pope heard of the opening of the Council, he appointed a Reference Committee in Rome to watch its proceedings. His reply to the Legates was less precise than they might fairly have expected. He simply bade them treat preliminaries; their attitude was to be dignified, but conciliatory, and they were to keep the bishops reverent to the Chair. By way of concession to poor bishops, the Pope exempted attendants at Trent

They hear from Rome.

from the usual taxes, and allowed them to enjoy their emoluments *in absentiâ*. The title of the Council was to be: 'The Sacrosanct Œcumenical and General Tridentine Synod,—the Apostolic Legates presiding.' And the Pope wrote emphatically that the voting was to be by *heads*. At Constance and Basle it had been by *nations*,—a method admirably fair in a heterogeneous assembly claiming to represent Christendom. But this plan would neutralize the numerical superiority of the Italians. The Pope therefore quashed it at the outset,—a significant indication of the fact that the Council was really to be Italian, and not universal!

Voting by heads!

The Legates, thus fortified, held a congregation, at which they announced as much as was convenient of the Pope's communication, and proposed that at the next session a decree on 'Christian Living at Trent' should be passed. At this congregation there was a little friction. The Spanish bishops received the Pope's concessions ungraciously, observing that they were a dangerous kindness, indicative of Romish assumption. Other prelates demanded that the scope of the exemptions should be extended to their entire suites. The French bishops held that the title was inadequate; they urged the addition of the words: 'representing the Universal Church.' This clause had been devised by the anti-papal Councils of Constance and Basle; it opened the way for the further rider: 'which holds its power immediately from God.' The Legates therefore firmly resisted the addition, and succeeded in getting it passed over for the present, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of the French, who were also in dudgeon because their

Spanish bishops restive already.

Contest about the Council's name.

king was not expressly mentioned in the draft of the decree on 'Christian Living.' On this last point the Legates calmed them by promising to give the matter their best consideration. And thus they were ready for another session.

The second session was larger and more stately than the first. There were present the Legates, the Bishop of Trent, four archbishops (two of whom—the Archbishop of Upsala, and R. Wauchope, Archbishop of Armagh—held merely titular rank: they had been for some years Papal pensioners at Rome, and were now sent to Trent to strengthen the hands of the Legates), twenty-eight bishops, three abbots from Monte Cassino, four generals of religious orders, thirty-five theologians, the envoy of Ferdinand, King of Hungary, and ten gentlemen of the Trent district.

Session II., Jan. 7th, 1546.

After the usual religious exercises, the secretary read the Council a homily from the Legates,—an address which created a most favourable impression, and was acknowledged even by German Lutherans to be worthy of the occasion. The Legates, premising that they were exhorting themselves as much as others, reminded the Fathers that the three great causes of the convocation of the Council were heresy, moral corruption, and the wars of Christendom. Of these three scourges we ourselves are the cause! We have neglected to sow the good seed, and to uproot the tares; and in morals, the clergy are corrupt and corrupters. Therefore God has sent upon us the third plague—the Turk, and the discords of Christian princes. 'Unless we clearly recognise these facts, we shall vainly invoke the Holy Ghost. Let us confess our sins! To our conciliary work there will

The Legates give a Homily.

be resistance; but it will be your duty to labour with constancy, with judicial impartiality, and with a single eye to the glory of God.'

Then was read the Decree on 'Christian Living —a series of very excellent regulations for the exemplary life of the bishops and their dependants during their residence at Trent. This Decree was passed with unanimity. The French, however, repeated in open session their demand for the supplementary title. To this interruption the Legates vouchsafed no reply; but, having arranged for the holding of the next session on February 4th, closed the sitting.

Decree on 'Christian Living.'

At the next congregation, the Legates complained of the indecorum of the French interruption at the session. It should here be stated that the real work of the Council was done, as we should say, 'in committee.' Thus, by-and-by, there were two grand committees, or congregations: a congregation of theologians to discuss dogma, and another of bishops and canonists to treat reforms. When these congregations had done their work, the results were handed over to enable select committees of bishops to frame the decrees and anathemas. These in turn were finally submitted to general congregation, to be by it modified or accepted. Unanimity was supposed to be reached in general congregation, so that at the session there should be no discussion, but simply the impressive sanction of decisions previously prepared. Hence the Legates' indignation with the French. These, however, persisted in their demand, and found considerable support from the other nations. After much discussion, it was agreed that next session, at all events, the simple title should be used.

How the Council did its work.

The Legates now wrote to Rome to say that this supplementary title was giving trouble, and to urge the Pope to send them speedy instructions as to the order of business. They also begged him to send up ten or twelve reliable Italian bishops, as several able Spaniards were reported to be on their way. 'Most of *ours*,' they piteously complained, 'are ignorant and rash, while the abler of them are hard to manage!'

The Legates ask for orders.

From sheer necessity of keeping the bishops employed during this awkward interval, the Legates had bidden them consult as to the order of business. Four divergent opinions on this subject were now expressed. The Imperialists desired the exclusive treatment of reforms. Stiff Churchmen, especially papalists, were equally eager for the exclusive definition of dogma. A third party, holding that faith and morals were logically inseparable, demanded the *concurrent* treatment of dogma and reform. While a further group, mainly French, said that the Council, making peace its first object, ought to address a courteous invitation to the Protestants.

Views as to the conduct of business.

The Legates, in great embarrassment, sent another urgent message to Rome, to say that they were spinning matters out as best they could; but that, unless they heard soon and often from the Pope, the Council would get wholly out of hand. They waited in vain for a reply. The Pope, utterly indifferent—at least, during this early stage—to Trent affairs, left them in cruel uncertainty. Meanwhile, the pro-reform bishops (vigorously aided by the Imperial ambassador) kept so steadily increasing in numbers and in influence, that the Legates became greatly alarmed, and by dint of much toil secured assent to a proposal for the *concurrent* (or, as it was

termed, the '*pari passu*') treatment of dogma and reform. They would, of course, have preferred to take dogma exclusively, and so fully to engross the attention of the Council with doctrinal questions as to leave it no time for the thorny business of reform. But, as things stood, they were grateful for small mercies; and, as they remarked to one another, in the tone of deeply injured men, 'If Rome does not like it, why has the Pope left our letters so long unanswered?'

Dogma and Reform are to be taken *pari passu*.

Session-time was now close at hand. No subject-matter had been proposed. Rome was still silent, and the Legates were perplexed as to their course. They hailed with delight a suggestion of Reginald Pole's, that the assembly should solemnly recite the Nicene Creed, and then adjourn until close upon Easter, 'for the arrival of more bishops.' They confided this plan to a few of the more eminent prelates. The proposal to recite the Nicene Creed was ill-liked. It seemed a palpably superfluous proceeding, and lay open to the graver objection that the Lutherans might say, 'If that is your creed, why do you ask us to believe anything else?' However, in a general congregation held on February 1st, the Legates carried their point, although many of the Fathers shared the dissatisfaction previously expressed, and rather caustically observed that the toil of twenty years had ended in reading the Nicene Creed.

At the session held on February 4th, a decree was passed to the effect that the Synod, aware of the importance of the subjects with which it has to deal, approaches the discussion with spiritual arms, and grasps that great shield and buckler of the faith—the Nicene Creed.

Session III. Feb. 4.

The Synod recites the Nicene Creed.

The Creed was then solemnly repeated. The next meeting was fixed for April 8th, and the session was over.

The Legates now wrote again to Rome, with almost despairing urgency, to say that the supplementary title was still likely to give trouble, and that the bishops were very eager for work. They asked whether they might propose for next session the treatment of Holy Scripture.

Meanwhile, in Germany, Protestantism was rapidly increasing. The death of Luther, occurring about this time, made not the slightest difference to its progress. Charles V. was just now expressing his deep regret at the failure of the Ratisbon Conference. The Lutherans laughed at his regret, for it was notorious that the Conference had been frustrated by Romish intrigue. The Emperor's war preparations before long swept off the mask which had thinned itself almost into transparency.

Death of Luther.

The last appeal of the Legates extracted at length a brief reply from the Pope. He bade them go ahead, raising no dogmatic difficulties, and touching reforms with a very tender hand. Hereupon the Legates announced '*Holy Scripture and its Abuses*' as the subject for next session. Here, at length, was work for the Trent theologians, the bulk of whom were friars. They fastened upon four Lutheran points relating to Holy Scripture, viz.: the rejection of tradition, the Lutheran Canon, the Lutheran attack upon the Vulgate, and insistence laid upon the need of consulting the original texts, and the question of the interpretation of Scripture.

While they were preparing to discuss these subjects, Verger, so recently made a bishop for his ser-

vices in Germany, arrived at Trent in great trouble. His bearing in Germany had been frank and open, as even Luther had noticed, although the Reformer rather doubted his sincerity. It is possible that his German experiences had inclined him towards Protestantism. At any rate, the people of his diocese had challenged his orthodoxy, and he now came to Trent to implore the protection of the Council against the Inquisition. The Legates advised him to go to the Pope, but Verger preferred to seek refuge in Switzerland, where he shortly afterwards became a Protestant minister. From his secure retreat in the Grisons, he keenly watched the whole progress of the Council; and as his acquaintance with Romish methods was extensive and peculiar, his criticisms of Trent were as damaging as they were relentless.

Verger in trouble.

The theologians spent most of March over the Scripture questions. They decided to give tradition equal rank with Scripture. They condemned the Lutheran omissions from the canon, and pronounced all the commonly received books (including the Apocrypha) canonical and of equal authority. The discussion on the Vulgate was lengthy and specially interesting. The first important speaker on this subject was Frà Aloysius, who reminded his brother theologians that the eminent Cajetan had laid great stress upon sound knowledge of the original texts. Every translator, urged Aloysius, is fallible. He held that the Synod could not claim the authority of the Holy Ghost for merely sanctioning any existing version, but that it could declare the authenticity of a revised version. But as the task of revision would be a long one, he advised the Council to leave the matter *in statu quo*. merely

Debates on Holy Scripture.

Speech of Aloysius.

ordaining that the Latin translation of Scripture be verified, as often as possible, by the original. Most of the theologians, however, were anxious to sanction dogmatically the received Vulgate text; 'otherwise,' as they pointedly urged, 'new-fangled grammarians will dethrone the canonists; every Inquisitor will be obliged to know Greek and Hebrew; and Christianity will be whittled away, past all recognition, by a multitude of discordant versions.' And these theologians certainly impressed a naturally conservative assembly, by pointing out Luther's habit of correcting and re-correcting his German Bible. Surely, they cried, God would not fail to give a Divine Version to His beloved Roman Church! At any rate, was their dogged conclusion, this Council, meeting under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, *can* decree the extant Vulgate to be a flawless translation!

But the next speaker, Isidore of Brescia, held that no translation could equal the original text. After tracing the history of the Vulgate, and showing what important portions of it were due to Jerome, he brought the theologians face to face with that Father's confession, that no translator could lay claim to the inspiration possessed by the original writers. 'How can you assign to Jerome,' asked Isidore, 'a gift which he himself disowned?' This theologian concluded that the Vulgate was the best extant translation, but that it ought to be carefully revised, and then decreed exclusively and for ever as The Version.

Speech of Isidore.

Vega. Frà Andrea di Vega thought that the Vulgate ought to be declared authentic,—liable to verbal errors, but infallible on all points of faith and morals; and that while the learned should have free access to the original texts, these

multitudinous and bewildering translations should be condemned.

When this subject came before a congregation of bishops, they were so powerfully influenced by jealousy of the grammarians as to decree, almost unanimously, that the Vulgate should be approved. They agreed, however, that a Revised Version should be prepared under the auspices of the Council, and went so far as to appoint a Committee *ad hoc;* but, as we shall see later, the voice of Rome had yet to be heard on this matter.

The Interpretation of Scripture.

On the question of Scripture Interpretation, the theologians started from Cajetan's declaration that 'God has not confined the right and only interpretation of Scripture to the ancient doctors. He has left here some work for modern men to do!' This bold sentence, faintly prophetic of John Robinson's glorious testimony of a century later, greatly exercised the theologians of Trent. Some said that it would be spiritual tyranny to restrict the interpretation of Scripture. But the majority held that licence was worse than tyranny. Frà Richard of Mans actually contended that Christian doctrine was now so precisely laid down in the scholastic manuals, that it was no longer necessary to seek it in the Bible! He would have had the Council forbid any man who had not graduated in theology to study the Scriptures. 'I have observed,' he *naïvely* added, 'that it is only among Bible-readers that heresy spreads.' And, as Sarpi half-incredulously remarks, this man had followers! Many, however, held that different ages require different interpretations, and were disposed to allow much latitude, except on points of faith and morals. But, at the same time, the Council somewhat emphatically declared its opinion that no

future interpretations of the Bible could be better than those already possessed.

On March 29th, it was decided to frame two decrees on Scripture: one, on the canon and the equality of tradition; the other dealing with the reform of Abuses of Scripture, and including all that pertained to translation and interpretation. Under 'Abuses,' they prohibited all flippant, scurrilous, and superstitious use of Scripture. This was an awkward subject, but the Fathers at Trent handled it with nonchalance—almost with unction.

It had been intended to deal with 'Preaching,' as the reform-subject for the approaching session; but this subject raised such fierce warfare between the bishops and the friars that the Legates were compelled to postpone it.

Preaching: Bishops *v.* Friars.

The two decrees on 'Scripture' were now passed by general congregation; and when Monte had reminded the Fathers of the decorum suitable to public occasions, and Santa Croce had pacified certain members who were dissatisfied on the Vulgate question, all was ripe for the session, and its appointed day had arrived.

At this session, the two decrees on Scripture and its cognate subjects were passed. Tradition was placed upon a level with Scripture, and the canon was fixed—with anathema upon all who reject it, or who deliberately despise tradition. The second decree declared the Vulgate authentic, but hinted at its revision: forbad any exposition of Scripture against the sense of the Church or the consensus of the Fathers: forbad the flippant, scurrilous, and superstitious use of Scripture: forbad also the publication of any religious book without the author's name and the official *imprimatur*. (Here was the

Session IV. April 8.

The Decrees on Holy Scripture.

beginning of that literary censorship against which Milton was to raise his magnificent protest in the *Areopagitica!*) After appointing June 17th for its next session-day, the Council rose.

The decrees were at once despatched to Rome, where they were published. The German Protestants read them with grave contempt, ironically observing that, to have canonized doubtful and apocryphal books, authenticated a loose translation, and restricted the interpretation of Scripture, all at one sitting, was no bad feat for an assembly of five cardinals and forty-eight bishops, not representing one-thousandth part of Christendom, nor including in its ranks a single prelate from Germany.

Lutheran estimate of the Scripture Decrees.

On the other hand, this session had opened the Pope's eyes to the fact that Trent deserved his closer attention. He now favoured the Legates with a long letter, enjoining them to pass no decree without first submitting it to his inspection: they were to avoid sluggishness and over-haste, to waste no time upon points not actually in controversy, and to permit no disputes upon Papal authority.

The Pope begins to watch Trent.

At the next congregation, the Legates proposed for next session, as the reform subject, 'Lectureships and Preaching,' and as the dogmatic subject, 'Original Sin.' The Spaniards and Imperialists demanded that only the reform-subject be taken: the Legates temporised for awhile, but, after Easter, flatly declared that both the Pope's command and an earlier decree of the Council itself, bound them to treat reform and dogma concurrently. But, first of all, they held running congregations on 'Lectureships and Preaching,' wishing to get this subject well out of the

Debates on Preaching, etc.

way before advancing to the doctrinal question. It was inevitable that the subject of religious education and preaching should make bad blood between the bishops and friars. The quarrel between the parish clergy and the mendicant orders was bitter, and had lasted over centuries. And at Trent the struggle was fierce. The bishops, especially the Spaniards, complained that the control of education and preaching had been snatched out of their hands by these religious orders, whose end is not edification, but lucre. They demanded the abolition of privilege and the restoration of their own authority. The friars, on the other hand, asserted that God had raised them up to do a work which the bishops had neglected, and that they had done this work for 300 years, under Papal sanction, and with godly zeal. The battle was so sharp, that the Legates sent to Rome for instructions. The Pope's reply was unhesitating: the mendicant orders —Rome's invaluable militia—must at all costs be supported; but very carefully, seeing that the episcopal vote needed nursing. Accordingly, the Legates were bidden to defend the friars, but to conciliate the bishops by granting them certain disciplinary powers,—not as bishops, but as 'delegates of the Holy Chair,'—an ingenious device, of which much use was made at Trent. After much scheming, it was found possible to frame an acceptable decree on Preaching. The still-murmuring generals of the orders were told that the friars had brought this upon themselves, and the bishops were admonished to use their 'new powers' with prudence and charity!

Rome supports the Friars.

The Legates now revealed their intention of treating the dogma of 'Original Sin.' The Imperialist party—whose main object it was to prevent

the fresh exasperation of German Protestants by any definite doctrinal decrees—persevered in their resistance; but the Legates cleverly pleaded that, at all events, the theologians might be saving time by a preliminary handling of the subject; and the Imperialists, foreseeing that the theologians would probably disagree, acquiesced.

The theologians had now placed before them nine Protestant theses on 'Original Sin.' They resolved that their treatment of the subject should be methodical and thorough; and thus they were engaged for several weeks upon an elaborate discussion of four main questions, viz.:—the nature of Adam's sin; the nature of that which, in Adam's descendants, is called Original Sin; the mode of its transmission; and the mode of its remission. Original Sin.

They all agreed that the sin of Adam was disobedience; but found it harder to decide as to the nature of that which in Adam's posterity is called Original Sin. They were greatly embarrassed by the conflicting decisions of the Fathers and Schoolmen. According to Augustine, our 'Original Sin' is concupiscence. Anselm, on the other hand, held that it is 'the privation of man's original righteousness.' Aquinas and Bonaventura sought to reconcile these views by affirming in man two rebellions,—that of sense against mind (concupiscence) and that of the mind against God (unrighteousness), and that these two rebellions, taken together, constitute 'Original Sin.' But the mediators themselves were not precisely at one; for Bonaventura gave the chief place to concupiscence, while Aquinas held that man's 'Original Sin' is 'his concupiscence deserted by original righteousness.' At Trent, the

What it was in Adam.

What it is in his descendants.

Augustinian theologians naturally stood by their master; the Franciscans (loyal to Scotus) sided with Anselm; while the bulk of the Dominicans supported Aquinas. The Decree, in its ultimate shape, glided over these differences as smoothly as possible.

The theologians also found difficulty in defining the *mode of transmission*. As Sarpi notes, Augustine, when pressed by the Pelagian demand, 'By what chink can Original Sin enter the children of pious parents?' merely quoted Romans v., and replied, 'By a very wide gate!' If the soul of the child were derived, like its body, from the earthly parent, the matter would be plain; but the later Schoolmen, holding that every soul comes direct from God, could only conclude that the infection is in the flesh, handed down by the act of generation, and that the soul catches this infection just as pure liquid is vitiated by being kept in a foul vessel.

The mode of its transmission.

As to the *mode of remission*, the theologians held, as a matter of course, the theory of Baptismal Regeneration, and said that Baptism cancels sin, and, although not removing its physical penalties, restores the soul to its state of innocence. God bestows in Baptism, through the merits of Jesus Christ, that justifying grace which blots out every sin.

The mode of its remission.

On this debate, it should be noted that the theologians were earnest in their assertion of the reality of Original Sin, and that their main objection to several of the Protestant articles (the bulk of which, by the way, were Zwinglian, not Lutheran) was their presumed Pelagian tint. Still, with singular inconsistency, the Trent theologians affirmed, as against the Protestants, that the corruption of man

is not substantial and positive, but merely privative.

The Protestant articles had now been unanimously condemned; but Frà Ambrosius Catherinus criticised the reasons assigned as inadequate, and adopted a position of his own as to the nature of Original Sin. He held that concupiscence and unrighteousness are the results and penalties of Original Sin rather than that sin itself. Nor would he allow that Original Sin is transmitted by generation. His view of the matter—the so-called Covenant theory—was that Adam covenanted to preserve, for himself and for his descendants, the *gift* of Original Righteousness: hence, Adam sinning, the whole race sinned in him; and thus the sin of Adam, actual sin in him, imputed to all other men, is original sin. This was an ingenious and plausible view, but lay open to grave theological objections. The alternative view, now upheld by Frà Sotus, was, that Original Sin is not the mere *act* of Adam, but its resultant habit of mind and life.

The 'Covenant' theory of Catherinus.

The theological discussion did not pass without a sharp debate on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. The Franciscans were anxious to exempt her from the common inheritance of guilt; while the Dominicans were equally resolute in including her under the general law. Monte tried to allay this contention by pointing out that the Council had met to condemn heresies, and not Catholic opinions.

Quarrel as to the Immaculate Conception.

The bishops had now to study the theologians' report, and to frame the decrees. Few of the bishops were theologians. They were sadly perplexed by the scholastic phraseology, and were specially puzzled as to the

The bishops not fond of theology.

essence of original sin. The Covenant-theory of Catherinus tempted them greatly; but, in face of the overwhelming opposition of the theologians, they dared not decree it. Their inclination was, to assert simply, that, before Baptism, every man lies under original sin, and that Baptism wholly cancels it. They proposed to anathematise the denial of these tenets, and also to condemn every view that, in any shape or form, denies original sin. But as for attempts to define the *essence* of the sin, these they dreaded, as likely to cause schism. The more enthusiastic theologians, like Catherinus and Vega, vainly besought them to give a little study to the question. The Legates silenced these theologians, bidding them talk less and help matters on! Accordingly, five canons were drawn up, and all went smoothly, until the Immaculacy of the Virgin was touched upon, when the warfare between the Franciscans and Dominicans grew fiercer than ever,—to the grim satisfaction of the Imperial ambassador, who began to hope that the subject would be unripe for treatment at the next session. But the Legates communicated with Rome, and were promptly told to touch nothing that could divide Catholics. On the Immaculacy question they were to satisfy both parties, by taking their stand upon the Bulls of Sixtus IV. They accordingly assured the disputants that there was no intention to exempt the Virgin from the general law, or to include her in its range! On hearing this, the wranglers slowly growled themselves into silence, and the formulation of the decrees was accomplished.

The Pope stops the 'Immaculacy' quarrel.

During these weeks, Charles V. had been vainly urging the Protestants to accept Trent. On June 9th, he sent Madruccio to Rome for the promised

Papal aid; he also recruited heavily in Italy and Flanders, and secured the adhesion or the neutrality of some of the Protestant princes and cities, by the assurance that the war in contemplation was not religious, but of a strictly political character.

At the session, the doctrinal decree on Original Sin, and the reform decree on Preaching were unanimously adopted. The sitting was otherwise uneventful, and the Fathers rose, after appointing July 29th for their next meeting.

Session V., June 17. 'Original Sin' and 'Preaching.'

The decrees were immediately printed and circulated. The Lutherans, over-tolerant, as usual, of sacramentarianism, and perhaps mollified by the fact that the doctrine decree was aimed rather at the Zwinglians than at themselves, damned it with faint praise, as a superfluous and superficial treatment of Pelagianism. Trent had, they said, in this matter stated the truth, but had nullified it by its deplorable ambiguity with regard to the Virgin Mary. They also read the reform decree with indifference. The Emperor, however, was vexed at the triviality of the reform-subject, and seriously angry that the Council, despite all his efforts, was dealing with dogma. He wrote imperatively to his people at Trent to push reform-subjects, and to secure the postponement of all doctrinal questions until the arrival of the Protestants, or, at all events, of the German bishops.

Public opinion as to the Decrees.

On June 26th, Madruccio definitely concluded the alliance between the Emperor and the Pope; and, on July 15th, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse notified the Protestants of Charles's palpable intention to isolate and crush them in detail.

Charles V. and the Pope about to crush the Lutherans.

At Trent, meanwhile, on June 18th, the Legates had proposed that the Council should next discuss the great central doctrine of the Lutherans,—Justification by Faith. The Imperialists protested against the treatment of dogma, especially at this season of political uncertainty; but the papalists quoted against them the *pari passu* rule, and the Legates urged, as before, that the theologians might be saving time by a preliminary survey, while the canonists were treating some topic of reform. The reform-subject suggested by Monte was, 'The Non-Residence of Bishops and Clergy.' But it was urged that absenteeism had grown common simply because residence was useless, and that, to make it useful, the episcopal authority must be restored. And this feeling was so strong, that the Legates were compelled to consent that both subjects should be treated.

Justification by Faith.

The theologians, after some hestitation, resolved upon an exhaustive study of their subject. There were laid before them twenty-five articles on justification and cognate doctrines, selected from the works of Luther and Zwinglius. They were now moving upon quite new ground, for which there were no scholastic precedents, and Sarpi confesses that at the outset they most wildly misconceived the Protestant position. This remark is perhaps capable of extension.

They were all agreed that Faith justifies;—but what faith, and how? For they held that faith is an exceedingly equivocal term, having at least fifteen possible meanings. But Frà Sotus objected to this analysis of the term, and said that on man's side, Christian Faith has only one meaning, viz.: Assent to all things revealed by God, and prescribed by the Church for

Discussion on Faith.

Sotus.

belief. Sotus further asserted that Luther's *fiducia* is sinful presumption. Here, however, he was withstood by Frà Catherinus, who, while admitting that *fiducia* cannot justify, still maintained that the justified man ought to believe himself to be in a state of grace. Frà Vega took a middle position, holding that a man may, without presumptuous sin, have a conjectural persuasion of grace.

Catherinus.

Vega.

There was fierce invective against the Protestant view that 'all works preceding faith, or done without it, are sins.' But here again Catherinus dissented, maintaining that, without the especial aid of God, man can perform no work that can be called even morally good. The work may be good *per se*, but must needs be vitiated in its circumstances and motives. Catherinus urged the theologians to follow the Church Fathers rather than the Schoolmen, and quoted Scripture. Sotus bitterly attacked him for heresy, affirming that his doctrine sapped the freedom of the will. Sotus also fancied that he could save the vital truth that the grace of God is the fountain of salvation, by assigning to the works of the natural man merely a distantly preparatory value. The Franciscans went so far as to say that such works had what they termed a 'merit of congruity,' and that 'God never fails the man who does his best.' The Dominicans resolutely opposed them with the declaration that no kind of merit whatsoever precedes the grace of God; that the absurd notion of 'merit of congruity' ought to be swept away; that the Bible ascribes human conversion to God, and that the phraseology of Scripture ought to be stuck to.

'Works preceding faith.'

The view of Catherinus.

Sotus.

The Franciscans.

Th Dominicans.

Passing on to other points, the theologians decided that 'fear and meditation upon the malignity of sin' is not sin. And it need scarcely be said that they were unanimously of opinion that works done in a state of grace are perfect and meritorious of eternal life. They held that God, at justification, infuses an actual inherent grace into the human soul. Against the forensic view of justification they declaimed rather than argued. They next considered whether, in addition to this inherent grace or righteousness, the righteousness of Christ is *imputed* to the justified man, as if it were his own? They all granted that Christ had merited on our behalf; but the phrase 'imputation' was very generally disliked, and such alternative terms were suggested as 'communication,' 'participation,' 'derivation,' 'diffusion,' 'conjunction,' etc. Sotus made a speech on this subject, which was full of *naïve* betrayal of the real causes that biassed the Council against the word 'imputation.' He admitted that it was a popular and plausible word, but added that he always distrusted it, seeing the doctrinal conclusions to which it led the Lutherans: *e.g.*, the sole and absolute sufficiency of imputed righteousness, the slighting of inherent righteousness, the denial of grace in the sacraments, the needlessness of penance, and the equality of believers in grace! The theologians, needing but little persuasion, were much impressed by this speech.

Imputed righteousness.

These theological disputations were very lengthy, and it would be a mistake to suppose that they were wholly prompted by religious ardour. They were very greatly influenced by events outside Trent; and at some of these we must glance for a moment.

On July 15th, the Pope published a Bull emphatically declaring that the war in which he was about to assist the Emperor was a religious war, and had for its aim the crushing of Lutheranism. Exactly five days later, the Emperor issued a ban against the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, as traitors; *he* expressly asserted that the war was non-religious! The Pope's stress laid upon the religious character of the war was a deliberate stroke of policy. Deep as was Paul's hatred of heretics, he was still anxious that the Emperor should not be too strong or too easily victorious. As a matter of fact, the instant result of the Bull was to destroy the Emperor's chance of receiving military aid from the Swiss. Charles was naturally chagrined: he was also afraid that Paul would make the war an excuse for dissolving the Council of Trent, on the plea of insecurity. So he wrote at once to Rome, amply guaranteeing the safety of the Council, and pointing out the European scandal to which its suspension would give rise. He urged the Pope to keep the Council open, and not to lock the door upon the Protestants by treating controversial topics. Charles was so earnest on this head, that his envoy was charged to drop a hint to the Legate Santa Croce as to the dangerous proximity of the river Adige!

The War in Germany.

The alliance in jeopardy.

The Pope felt that he must keep the Council open, but to treat reform solely was greatly against the grain: so he ordered the Legates to hold no session until further instructions, but to keep the Fathers occupied as best they could. On July 25th, the publication of the Pope's jubilee gave them an excuse for postponing the session, and for holding no congregations for a fortnight. Shortly after-

wards, a Protestant army distantly menaced Trent, and when this danger had passed, there was a steady northward movement of Italian troops through Trent on their way to the Brenner, and thus—*inter arma silebat Concilium;* and, until the middle of August, public meetings were few and scantily attended.

Inter arma silebat Concilium!

The Papal auxiliaries joined the Emperor at Landshut on August 15th, and were received with jubilation. But trouble soon arose in consequence of Cardinal Farnese's demand that the crucifix should be borne at the head of the army. This request was clearly inadmissible; and Farnese, feigning illness, retired to Ratisbon, to await instructions from Rome. The Imperial and Protestant armies were now face to face, but did not engage, for Charles was anxious for a bloodless victory, and the Protestants were hampered by a divided command.

The Legates now resumed congregations. They had received orders to spin out the debates, and therefore to impress the Fathers with the need for exact discussion, to lengthen the disputes of the theologians, and to foment differences of opinion. Monte feared that he was unequal to this task; but Santa Croce—a man of firmer nerve—cheerfully undertook to carry it through, and kept his word.

The Council resumes work.

In congregation, the old disputes at once revived; and Santa Croce, solemnly affirming their importance, bade the theologians thresh the matter thoroughly out! The single subject of the Assurance of Grace occupied many days: it divided the bishops as well as the theologians, nor did the Council succeed in clearing it up.

The Assurance of Grace.

Most of the theologians, following Aquinas and Bonaventura, held Assurance to be sinful presumption: and this view was strongly urged by Seripandus, Vega, and Sotus. On the other hand, Catherinus and Marinari unanswerably maintained that 'we cannot thank God for our justification, unless we *know* that we have received it.' The opposite party admitted that there might be a 'reasonable conjecture,' but, as a rule, not certainty. They let themselves be led to call this conjecture a '*moral* certainty.' Then Vega, manifestly coming round, tried to save himself from all flavour of Lutheranism, by saying that it is simply a human, experimental certainty, based, not upon Divine revelation, but upon the soul's own feelings. But here he was decisively met by the remark that such certainty is a faith which is accorded to the testimony of the Holy Ghost, and is thus not optional, but Divine faith: indeed, Catherinus maintained that this private faith differs from Catholic faith merely in its degree of universality. At the outset, this view repelled many theologians, but very many ultimately adopted it. Sotus held that it favoured Lutheranism; but the other party said that Luther would have been perfectly right had he said that this assurance *follows* justification, and that his heresy lay in the assertion that it constituted justification.

This dispute was so incredibly vehement, that even Santa Croce was relieved when he had succeeded in inducing the assembly to pass on to 'Works Preparatory' and 'The Observance of the Law.' Here it was felt needful to study the question of 'Free-Will'; and on this subject six articles were gleaned from the Protestant books. The theologians rather stormed than argued

Free Will.

against these necessitarian tenets: so much so, that Marinari—always a moderating spirit—reminded them that it is just as foolish to say that *every* action is within our power, as to say that *no* action is. And Catherinus remained sternly faithful to his doctrine, that without the special aid of God it is impossible for man to work any moral good whatsoever.

Then followed a long and intricate dispute about sufficient' and 'efficacious' Divine Aid: a dispute in the course of which we catch curious preludes of that great controversy of the next century of which Pascal's *Provincial Letters* form the abiding memorial. Some, indeed, of Pascal's sarcasms were anticipated by certain theologians at Trent. Obviously, the question of Predestination now lay close at hand; and, very shortly, it was positively considered, on the basis of eight theses extracted from Zwinglius. At Trent, as everywhere else, when this tremendous mystery is discussed, two antagonistic views stood forward: and it is without surprise that we read Sarpi's statement that one of these views pleased the preachers, the other the theologians; that the former view was victorious on the ground of human argument, but that in its appeal to Scripture its breakdown was manifest. It deserves notice that the Council, in impeaching the Zwinglian view of Predestination, displayed far less than its usual confidence. On this subject, as upon others previously mentioned, Catherinus was ready with a carefully considered view of his own.

Foregleams of Jansenism.

Predestination.

The work of the theologians was now over. It was decided that the Decree on Justification should consist of a positive statement of Catholic doctrine,

followed by a series of anathemas upon all conflicting views. This statement expanded itself into one of the most elaborate documents issued during the whole history of the Council. That unanimity (even of expression) was ever attained, was largely due to the extraordinary patience and toil of Santa Croce, the president of the doctrinal section. More than one hundred congregations were held, and for upwards of three months the Legate was daily working at the decree, shaping and re-shaping it, and dealing personally and privately with the dissatisfied: Never did statesman nurse a great bill through a stormy parliament with more assiduous care than Santa Croce devoted to the Justification Decree. A significant proof of his success is to be found in the fact that, soon afterwards, two stubborn antagonists —the Dominican Sotus and the Franciscan Vega— were each of them enabled, with equal appearance of truth, to claim for their rival theories the sanction of the Conciliary Decree! This bulky diplomatic paper naturally gave thorough satisfaction at Rome.

The Legate's toil!

Meanwhile, the reform congregation had not been idle. The grave abuse with which it had to deal was that of the non-residence of bishops and clergy. This subject at once brought them face to face with a most vital question—a question which, if thoroughly explored, would have shattered the despotism of the Roman See, viz.: Is the Pastoral Residence of clergy a matter of *Divine obligation* or of ecclesiastical arrangement? To this question of *Jus Divinum v. Jus Pontificium* we shall have to return at a later period, when it gathered around it the gallant struggle of the Ultramontane bishops, and well-nigh wrecked the Council.

Pastoral Residence.

At present it scarcely came under clear discussion; the Legates, with the instinct of self-preservation, opposing all mention of it with every resource of doggedness and subtlety. Still, our study of later phases of the Council will be materially aided by a recollection of the fact that, even in these early days, the Spanish bishops were eager to decree that the most solemn obligation of their pastoral office came to them, not from Papal law, but by the command of God; and it is equally memorable that the vast majority of the theologians sided with them. The feeling of the Council was, in fact, so strong on the question, that, but for unexpected events, the Legates could scarcely have been able ultimately to resist a demand so powerfully urged, so evidently just. The chief opponents of the *Jus Divinium* theory were, as was natural, the canonists or ecclesiastical lawyers, and the Italians, among whom Catherinus and the wary old Papal servant Campeggio stand prominently forward. The Legates got rid of the difficulty for the present by urging that the question was not ripe for decision, and that it would be well to postpone all inquiry into the *source* of the obligation, and simply to decree and enforce Pastoral Residence under adequate pains and penalties.

The Spanish view of the obligation.

Jus Divinum.

Jus Pontificium.

To turn for a moment to the war in Germany. In the middle of December, the Pope, jealous of Charles V., and alarmed at his rapid and over easy successes, recalled Farnese and the Italian contingent at a critical point in the campaign, and also found an excuse for discontinuing his pecuniary aid. Charles was naturally indignant at this calculated treachery, while the

The Pope deserts the Emperor.

Pope, on his part, took measures of defence against the Emperor's possible resentment. It struck him that one embarrassing mode of retaliation that might occur to Charles would be the sending of Protestants to the Council. At Christmas-time, therefore, the Pope bade the Legates hold the session as soon as possible, and also print and circulate all the doctrinal decisions hitherto arrived at. The object of this step was either to discourage the Protestants from coming to Trent at all, or, at all events, to pledge them to the acceptance of all the decrees already enacted. Here, then, we see Rome deliberately shutting the door of conciliation, calmly widening the breach with Northern Europe, and already forging around itself and Italy the ring of iron! The purpose of Trent slowly escaping.

On January 3, the Legates forced through general congregation, in the face of strenuous Imperialist opposition, proposals in harmony with their instructions from Rome; and during the first fortnight of the new year the doctrinal and reform decrees were cast into final shape.

The session was held on January 13. After the usual preliminaries, the two decrees were passed. The Doctrinal Decree on Justification by Faith was really a theological pamphlet, occupying twenty closely printed pages, and consisting of a statement of Romish doctrine in sixteen chapters, followed by thirty-three anathemas. The Reform Decree simply enforced the Residence of Clergy under pains and penalties. The Synod rose, after fixing March 3 for its next meeting. Session VI., Jan. 13, 1547. Decrees on Justification by Faith.

A synopsis, much more a criticism of the Trent decrees, would far outrun the space at our disposal. We must be content to remark that in the achieve-

ments of this sixth session, the Council faced for the first time the full storm of Protestant criticism. Its decisions upon original sin had passed comparatively without notice; but now it had touched, with an ostentatious assumption of finality, the very heart of the great dispute, the grand *articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*. German comments were free and merciless, and they poured in from every quarter. Humorists satirized 'these clerical astrologers, who have adopted eccentricities of opinion, in order to save the appearances of the super-celestial movements.' Grammarians attacked the frequently uncouth phraseology of the document, and its—possibly deliberate—intricacies of style. Church historians affirmed that this one session had decided more questions than all previous Councils put together, and that but for Aristotle the Church would have lacked many articles of faith. The Reform Decree was declared to be a mere illusion. And through all this criticism there ran a general conviction that it was very hard to grasp what the real mind of the Council upon these doctrines was. This portentous vagueness, however, far from affording a plea for arrest of judgment, was considered to be, as indeed it was, one of the most fatal charges that could be urged against Trent.

German criticism.

Meanwhile the Council proceeded to fix the subject-matter for the next session. As the doctrinal subject, the bishops and canonists were anxious to take *The Hierarchy*. But this topic would have allowed little scope for that lively and exuberant body of men—the Trent theologians, who contended that next to justification it was logically necessary to treat the subject of the *Sacraments*. They were eagerly supported by the Legates, desperately afraid

of any discussion of the Hierarchy. It was decided to begin with *The Sacraments in General,* and to include *Baptism* and *Confirmation* in the scope of the decree. The Sacraments.

As for the reform subject, the Spaniards repeated their demand for the declaration of Pastoral Residence *jure Divino;* but Monte, after fencing for awhile, bluntly replied that the Pope would not allow that question to be treated *at present,* but that they would deal with the abuses that have caused non-residence, and that the chief of these abuses was *Pluralism of Benefices.* Pluralism.

The theological congregation now studied fourteen Protestant tenets upon 'Sacraments in General.' They then affirmed seven sacraments, and (to prevent all mistakes) named them. They decided that the sacraments (or, at least, the 'explicit' or 'implicit' desire for them) are necessary to salvation, and that they contain grace, irrespective of the mood of the recipient. They debated very curiously as to the 'intention of the minister;' and upon this subject the Franciscans and Dominicans quarrelled so fiercely that Santa Croce bade them pass on, reporting also to Rome on the very dangerous licence assumed by the friars. Baptism and Confirmation were dealt with easily enough. Meanwhile the canonists had drawn up five anathemas upon Abuses of the Sacraments. They were honestly anxious to put down the scandal of pecuniary extortion, but the question of the *absolutely gratis administration* of the sacraments raised difficulties which had to be left to the decision of general congregation. The Fathers now examined the doctrinal conclusions of the theologians, and proceeded to frame the decree. It is scarcely credible that on this subject of the sacra- Debates on the Sacraments.

ments (part of the keystone of the Romish system), they hesitated to formulate a *positive statement* of Romish doctrine—that the Pope shared their hesitation—and that no such statement was vouchsafed!

Debates on Pluralism.

The Reform congregation, meanwhile, had been seriously attacking the abuse of Pluralism—not without hot altercation, and occasionally trenching upon ground most delicate for the Legates. It was agreed to propose a law forbidding any cleric to hold more than three benefices. Some one added a proviso that the total income should not exceed 400 ducats. Whereat there was much dispute: and far more when the Bishop of Verona demanded that the decree should have retrospective force. Opinion was so divided

Friction.

that many hinted that no one but the Pope could deal properly with the question. This hint was enough for the Legates, who heartily trusted that the *Residence* difficulty also might be referred to Rome. They instantly wrote to the Pope, whose reply was prompt and sur-

The Pope will smooth matters!

prising. He was obviously not disposed to take two bites at the cherry, for his reply consisted of a Bull, whereby he graciously took upon himself the arrangement of all reforms whatsoever! But matters had in the meantime moved on; the passing fit of weariness or of despair, which had led even some lovers of reform to welcome a reference of the subject to the Pope, had disappeared, and real progress had been made. A decree was drafted to the effect that no bishop should hold more than one see, that pluralists in future should be deprived, and that present pluralists should show their licences to the Ordinary. There was a disposition to go further. Men were beginning to ask the ominous question, 'Is Pluralism forbidden

by Divine or by human law?' The Legates had some difficulty in silencing this dangerous question. The assembly was clearly in no mood to hear with patience the Pope's extraordinary proposal. A very faint suggestion of it evoked such determined hostility, that the Legates shrank back, and acquainted the Pope that his Bull was impracticable, and that it would be wise for him to reform the Papal Court, and that speedily, as the Council, not content with providing for the future, would certainly demand the abolition of scandalous concessions at present in force.

Jus Divinum again cropping up.

And now occurred an incident of grave significance. The Spanish bishops, meeting in private under Pacheco, Bishop of Jaen, resolved that—their verbal demands being invariably ignored—they would hand in a written schedule. On February 4th this important Spanish paper was presented to the Legates. Among other items, it demanded higher qualifications in bishops and clergy, the compulsory residence of cardinals during half the year, the *Jus Divinum* theory of Pastoral Residence, and a sweeping abolition of Pluralism. The Legates were deeply alarmed. This Spanish paper was so boldly anti-papal, and it was a written document, and therefore not easy to be shelved. They merely replied that the Council was too busy at present to enter into these important demands. But they instantly poured out their hearts to the Pope! 'The bishops,' they told him, 'wax ever bolder. They speak rudely of cardinals, and even of you! They hold private meetings. Read this Spanish paper Is the Emperor backing the Spaniards? We can hold our own at the debates, but—then comes the voting! Recall all Italian absentee bishops. Severa

The Spanish Schedule.

Alarm of the Legates.

have gone to Venice for Lent.' And the letter ended with an assurance that the coming session would be of crucial importance, as between the Pope and the bishops.

Having despatched this letter, the Legates at next congregation proposed to remedy certain abuses, but failed to mollify the Spaniards, who nevertheless kept quiet, waiting to see what the Pope would say to their schedule, which they heard privately had reached him.

The Pope, after consulting the cardinals, wrote back to the Legates, that if they were weak, they might yield some of the Spanish demands; but, if strong enough to resist, they were to yield nothing. The Pope's solicitude about Trent was now so intense as amply to avenge the Legates for his earlier indifference. He had begun to surmise that the Council might do him some serious damage; and as his practised eye swept over the situation, this apprehension deepened. His reasons for misgiving were many and grave. The fierceness of theological faction at Trent threatened schism: this *Jus Divinum* demand would shatter the Papacy. Recent reform-measures all tended to exalt the episcopal authority at the expense of his own: and in the resoluteness of the Spaniards there was something appalling. The Pope surmised that the Emperor was behind it! And as for the Emperor, he was successful, and conciliating the Lutherans. Since that affair of the broken alliance, he had been heard to say publicly that Paul was his worst enemy. He was extremely likely to use the Council as a weapon against the Pope. Further, Francis I. of France lay dying; the Dauphin was an unknown quantity, and thus the Emperor was master of the European situation.

Instructions from Rome.

The Pope very thoughtful.

Dissolution of the Council being impossible, and suspension an idle remedy, the Pope resolved that, at all events, he would transfer it to Bologna, a city more wholly in his own power, and within striking distance of Rome. Having made up his mind, Paul acted with characteristic decision. He despatched a secret messenger with orders to slip quietly into Trent, but not till after the session, and to direct the Legates to find some pretext for removing the Council, and for effecting the removal so rapidly that neither the Emperor nor any other opponent should have time to interfere. And very fortunately, as he remembered, the Legates possessed an old Bull of Powers, covering this emergency, so that his intervention at this precise point need not be known.

The Council must be removed to Bologna.

Meanwhile, Santa Croce was inclined to yield a little to the Spaniards; but Monte said, 'Not an inch!' So they framed the Residence Decree, and proposed it in congregation. Its recital caused greater difficulty than ever, for the Legates had inserted a clause 'guarding at all points the apostolic authority'! What this meant was obvious to all; but the Bishop of Badajoz was the only man who dared to speak. The matter, however, was shuffled over, and Monte, brazening it out, took a high tone. Badajoz then demanded that it should be explicitly stated in the decree that the discussion of the *Jus Divinum* of Residence was merely postponed. 'Do you distrust our promises?' was Monte's haughty reply. There were several other demands, and various objections, —mainly from Spaniards; but the Legates, having a good majority, got the decrees through Congregation, and silenced the dissatisfied.

A 'Residence' Decree.

The session was held on March 3rd, when the two decrees—the doctrinal decree on Sacraments in general, Baptism, and Confirmation, the reform decree on Pluralism, etc., etc.—were solemnly adopted. The recalcitrant bishops again feebly asked for a precise specification of persons comprehended under the reform decree, and for some provision for present as well as future evils. But the Legates kept contemptuous silence, and, fixing the next meeting for April 21st, closed the session.

Session VII., March 3rd. Sacraments, Pluralism.

That very evening the Pope's secret envoy stole into Trent, delivered his message, and left at once for Innsbruck.

Santa Croce was bewildered, but Monte, implicitly relying on the Pope's sagacity, gradually reassured his colleague, and they resolved to carry out their instructions to the very letter.

Now it happened that there was just then a good deal of sickness in Trent, whether as the result of carnival indulgences, or of the rainy season. Monte set some of his folk to ask the doctors if the sickness was contagious. And, very opportunely, an aged bishop chanced to die at this crisis. The Legates took care that his funeral should be as public as possible. Suddenly there floated into shape a rumour, of quite untraceable genesis, that Trent was unhealthy, and that the plague had broken out! The Legates, affecting ignorance, held the usual congregation on March 4th. The report spreading, they ordered an official inquiry, carefully selecting their medical advisers. It was now alleged that Trent was about to be placed in quarantine. Many bishops were eager to leave. Monte allowed a few of them to depart, but not enough to imperil the voting! On the 9th, a

The rumours of the Plague.

general congregation was held amid much excitement, and Monte proposed a removal of the Council, adding that he had long possessed the requisite powers. The Imperialist bishops said that the danger was exaggerated, and that it would be amply sufficient simply to adjourn the Council, allowing timid prelates to depart. There was much discussion. The Imperialists conferred together, made a careful inquiry of their own, and discovered that the 'plague' was an absolute invention. Next day, another congregation. Eleven bishops had gone away. The Legates now proposed migration to Bologna. The majority were favourable, but a few of the members asked, in their innocence, whether the Pope would not be angry: whereupon Monte, with unmoved countenance, replied that he would make it right at Rome. The Congregation then adopted the decree for removal, making respectful allusion to the Emperor, and hinting at a possible return to Trent in better days.

Monte proposes to remove.

The Opposition.

Next day the session was held. The decree was accepted by twenty-five bishops and three generals of orders. Pacheco and seventeen Spaniards voted against it. The Legates at once commanded the bishops to leave Trent, under pains and penalties. But the Spanish bishops were enjoined by the Imperial ambassador to remain where they were. The news of the removal was hailed with delight by the Roman Court, and the Pope observed that, under the circumstances, he could not but give his approval. Few, however, were so simple as not to perceive that the Pope had inspired the whole transaction; and this proof of the scandalous bondage of

Session VIII., March 11th.

The Decree of Transference to Bologna.

The Opposition remains at Trent.

the Council created an extremely painful impression. It is possible that Francis I., who died at the end of March, never heard the news. The chagrin and displeasure of the Emperor Charles V. may be left to the reader's imagination.

CHAPTER III.

BOLOGNA AND THE INTERVAL.

THE lingerers at Trent wisely resolved to attempt no public conciliary action, but to occupy their time in studying subject-matter. At Bologna the Legates had no difficulty in gathering together their own folk, and even in increasing their number. The day fixed at Trent for the next session was April 21st: and on that very day, with a finely assumed forgetfulness of recent events, the session was held at Bologna.

Nothing was spared to give a stately character to this first session under the new *régime*. It was attended by thirty-four prelates. But it was easier to hold a session than to do sessional work. And so, with the remark that 'many bishops are absent, keeping Easter,' the Bologna assembly adjourned until June 2nd.

Session IX., April 21st.

On this very day—so resultless at Bologna—Charles V. decisively routed the Protestants at Mulberg. The Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse fell into his hands, and, still stoutly repudiating the Council of Trent, were cast into prison. This victory greatly alarmed the Pope, who hoped, however, that the Emperor would still find his hands full. Paul now negotiated an alliance with Henry II., the new King of France, and also sent his nuncio Sfondrato into Germany, to watch the approaching Diet at

Battle of Mulberg.

Augsburg, to keep the German clergy faithful to Rome, and to induce Charles V. to sanction the transference of the Council to Bologna.

May was a very trying month for the Legates at Bologna. Their instructions were to postpone the session, but to find work for the congregations. This was difficult, as the bulk of the theologians were at Trent. However, they succeeded in keeping the bishops busy with the discussion of the Eucharist.

The session was held on June 2nd, when the Legates simply passed a decree of adjournment until September 15th, adding—in order to disguise from the outer world the embarrassment in which the Bologna people found themselves—'Meanwhile we will proceed with the discussion of doctrine and reform.'

Session X., June 2nd.

On September 1st, the Diet, which the Emperor, judiciously desirous of giving a constitutional colouring to his military successes, had announced shortly after the battle of Mulberg, assembled at Augsburg. Charles V. presided in person. He informed the Diet that there was now good hope of peace, but that the religious differences *must* be settled. In the debate which ensued, the ecclesiastics insisted that the Protestants should unconditionally accept the Council: the secular Catholics urged that the Protestants should have full security to attend the Council and to address it, but should then be forced to respect its decisions; while the Protestants themselves stoutly demanded that the Council should be free from all Papal manipulation, and that Protestant theologians should be allowed to vote; they also emphatically stipulated that all the past decrees of Trent should be open for revision.

Augsburg Diet.

At Bologna, as session-time drew near, the Legates sought excuses for yet another postponement. On September 14th, they carried a resolution that, owing to the non-arrival of certain bishops, the session should stand adjourned to some unfixed day.

About this time, the German bishops wrote, at the Emperor's direction, a letter to the Pope. They told him that the Council ought to have been held much earlier, and in Germany. They begged him to order its immediate return to Trent, adding that, in the event of his refusal, they might be forced to adopt measures of their own. Meanwhile, the Emperor was straining every nerve to induce the Lutherans at Augsburg to accept Trent. The envoys of the princes were the first to yield, and, finally, after much brow-beating from Granvella, the envoys of the cities gave way,—handing in, however, a written list of conditions. Their paper was not read, and they were thanked (to their great surprise) for submitting the whole matter to the Emperor.

German bishops demand the Council's return to Trent.

Sfondrato now pressed the Emperor to sanction the Bologna removal. He had even the audacity to offer a new Papal Military Alliance—a proposal which Charles promptly and drily rejected. Instead of listening to Sfondrato, the Emperor sent Cardinal Madruccio to Rome to secure the return of the Council to Trent. Madruccio could extract no definite reply from the Pope, and at last left Rome, placing the matter in the able hands of Don Diego di Mendoza, who informed the Consistory that, in the event of Papal delay or evasion, he was instructed to declare the invalidity of the

The Emperor demands the Council's return to Trent.

His embassy to Rome.

Bologna assembly. As a counterblast to this threat, Guise delivered a swelling pro-papal oration 'in the name of the King of France.'

The Pope's next move was to write to Monte, to ascertain the mind of the Bologna prelates. The reply came, with suspicious readiness, that they could not discuss the question of returning to Trent until the malcontents joined them at Bologna. And they quite superfluously entreated the Pope not to compel them to take any course that might be derogatory to the Church.

The Pope refuses.

The Pope now assured Mendoza that it was palpably impossible for him to act against this strong and reasonable representation. The ambassador was about to launch his threatened protest, and was with difficulty persuaded to await further orders from the Emperor.

Writes to the German bishops.

And now the Pope, foreseeing trouble with Charles, bethought himself of conciliating the German bishops, and sent a clever reply to their September letter, tossed then so angrily aside. He told them that the removal to Bologna was made without his cognisance; still, the Council had power to move; nor had it gone far,—and Bologna is very safe and convenient. He enclosed a copy of the Bologna letter, and ended by saying that he could trust the German bishops to do nothing injurious to the Church. At all events, he was 'utterly indifferent to threats, for the Church was built on a Rock.'

Charles V. repudiates Bologna.

In January (1548), Charles V. sent two ambassadors, Francis Vargas and Martin Velasquez, to Bologna. On January 16th they were admitted to Congregation. Vargas began to read the Imperial letter. It was

addressed, *Conventui!* Cardinal Monte at once stopped him with, 'This letter cannot be for us!' Vargas was then suffered to proceed 'without prejudice.' He appealed most earnestly to the Fathers themselves. Monte again stopped him with a dignified reminder of his own position, and added that no menaces could induce the Legates to desert the cause of freedom, or to be false to the honour of the Church, the Council, or their own.

Velasquez then read the Imperial protest, sternly denouncing the Pope's conduct, and declaring the illegality of the Bologna meeting, and the nullity of all its decisions. On January 23rd, Mendoza, evidently acting in concert with the Bologna embassy, read a similar protest before the Pope and Consistory, handed it in, and departed unanswered.

The Pope now felt the web tightening around him. But he was a wily and practised diplomatist, with many resources, and was shortly struck with a happy idea. On February 1st, he sent for Mendoza, and told him that he could see very plainly that he had exceeded his instructions. 'The Emperor is appealing to me to decide the question of the legality of the removal; not, as you rashly implied, protesting against my conduct. I accede to his petition! I appoint a committee of inquiry, and order both parties to adduce their arguments!' The Imperialists laughed at this evasion, and Mendoza (half paralysed by its blank audacity) could but affirm his literal accuracy.

The Pope feels his way.

On hearing of these proceedings at Rome, most of the bishops left Bologna; but the party at Trent, after communicating with the Emperor, remained at their post. Further, they respectfully declined to become litigants

Bologna Council slips to pieces.

on the removal question, simply begging the Pope to recall the Council to Trent.

The Pope felt himself in an awkward position. He was resolved to maintain the legality of the transference, but dared not face the risk of a Church schism. He was fully aware that he owed these difficulties to Charles V., with whom, moreover, he was so exasperated on other grounds, that he sought, although vainly, to draw France and Venice into an anti-German alliance. The situation had reached its ultimate degree of complication. Here was the Emperor demanding the Council's return to Trent, and also the cession of Parma and Piacenza; France indifferent as to the locality of the Council, but emphatic against the cession of the two cities; the Pope determined to keep the Council at Bologna, but conscious of an ever-tightening pressure from Germany.

The Pope in an awkward fix.

His perplexity was suddenly swept away.

Charles V., seeing clearly that the Council would come to little good during the lifetime of the present Pope, and that he must do something for the religious pacification of Germany, issued a theological system of his own. It was substantially Romish, but couched, as Robertson says, 'in the softest words, or in Scripture phrases, or in terms of studied ambiguity.' At the same time it was discordant with the Trent decrees on sin, justification, the sacraments; it conceded the validity of clerical marriages, and allowed the sacramental cup to the laity of various provinces. This important document, being merely a temporary regulation, was known as '*The Interim*.' It filled the Roman Court with panic; it was believed that the German Emperor was going the way of Henry

The 'Interim.

of England, and there was much screaming as to the perils of the Church.

But the sagacious old Pope knew better. He may have felt as Cromwell felt when he glanced over the field of Dunbar. He could scarcely conceal his delight. He marvelled that Charles could have committed such a blunder. He instantly communicated with Sfondrato: 'You will get this "Interim" published by feigning to dislike it. You will, on the one hand, stir up the passions of the German bishops; and, on the other, persuade the Protestants that the "Interim" is intended to crush Lutheranism. At the same time, you will take care to be out of the way when it is publicly promulgated.' In May, amid much head-shaking on the part of the Lutheran princes, the 'Interim' was hurried through the Augsburg Diet; and, late in June, Charles dismissed the Diet, promising that the Council should return to Trent, that its proceedings should be regulated by Scripture, and that the Protestants should be heard.

The Pope's delight.

In August, the Pope sent two nuncios into Germany with a remarkable Bull, offering wonderful concessions to all who would return to the Romish Church. The 'Interim' operated precisely as the Pope had anticipated. It was hated by Catholics and Protestants alike. Its execution was almost everywhere opposed. The Emperor passed into Flanders, leaving discontent in every region of Germany; and the Pope took care that an elaborate confutation of the Imperial treatise should be prepared and circulated.

His nuncios in Germany.

Thus passed the winter of 1548, and the spring of 1549.

The two nuncios had to run the gauntlet of contemptuous mirth, and their Bull was despised even by Catholics. In May, they reached the Emperor in Flanders, and he filled the cup of their humiliation by appointing the bishops to act as their surrogates.

1549.

On November 10th, the situation was materially altered by the death of Pope Paul III. The Conclave was protracted and embittered by the rivalry of the French and Imperialist members. But the partisans of the late Pope were preponderant in the College, and they procured the election, on February 8th, of Giovanni Angelo del Monte, the able and ever faithful Legate of Paul III. at Trent and Bologna. Monte assumed the title of Julius III., and swore to continue the Council. Very soon the Emperor sent his congratulations, coupled with the old request for the restoration of the Council to Trent. The reply of Julius was courteous but vague; but this attitude of reserve was natural in a new pontiff. It soon, however, became obvious that Pope Julius would be a quite different man from the able and business-like Legate Monte. 'He spent,' says Sarpi, 'whole days in the Vatican Gardens, designing pleasure-houses, and adorning them with statues and marbles at vast expense; he showed himself inclined to luxury, and averse to the conduct of affairs.' All this was watched by the keen eyes of Mendoza, who speedily assured his master that there would be no great difficulty with the new Pope; whereupon Charles pressed him firmly for a definite reply about the Return to Trent.

Death of Pope Paul III.

Election of Pope Julius III.

A great change in Monte.

Julius weighed the pros and cons. The Bologna transference had been his own dexterous achieve-

ment, and Paul III., a most able statesman, had at all risks opposed its return. But, on the other hand, Paul's obstinacy had caused him great trouble. Again 'Pope Julius is not bound by what Monte did.' The balance of argument was in favour of acceding to the Emperor's request, and this was the course which the Pope adopted. In signifying his resolution to the Emperor, he laid down a few conditions. France must be conciliated; the Council must work rapidly, because of its expensiveness; Germany must be pledged to accept its decrees; and finally, Julius wrote, with special emphasis, 'The past decrees of Trent can on no account be laid open to revision.'

He will restore the Council to Trent!

On conditions.

The Emperor promised that all security should be given to France; that expenses should be cut down as much as possible, and that Germany should accept the decrees. As to the re-examination of past decisions, 'This,' wrote Charles, 'is a question that can be best dealt with at Trent itself'!

Late in December, the Pope issued his Bull, intimating that the Council would reassemble at Trent on May 1st. The tone of the Bull was so haughty as to dissatisfy even earnest Catholics; but the Pope steadily refused to make its language more conciliatory. The Protestants of Germany meanwhile persistently demanded that all past decrees of Trent should be revisible; that their own theologians should be allowed to speak and vote, and that the Pope himself should submit to the decisions of the Council. The Emperor bade them attend, not to what the Pope said, but to

Bull of Convocation.

Attitude of the Protestants.

what he (Charles) promised; and on February 13th, he dissolved the Augsburg Diet with a decree which was regarded as a counterblast to the Bull, viz.: 'The Emperor has prevailed upon the Pope to reopen the Council of Trent. All are free to attend and speak. All shall be done legitimately, according to Scripture and the Church Fathers. The Emperor will be hard by to see fair play.'

1541. The Legate and nuncios.

Early in the year, the Pope resolved to send one Legate and two nuncios to preside at Trent. He selected as Legate Cardinal Crescentius; as nuncios, his early friend, Sipontinus, and the faithful and able Bishop of Verona.

An event occurred in the early months of the year, which cast a sinister shadow about the approaching meeting of the Council, and was destined very seriously to affect its fortunes.

The Pope offends France.

Ottavio Farnese, of Parma, suspecting that Charles V. had designs upon his city, entreated the Pope, his suzerain, to grant him assistance, or to allow him to seek it for himself. Pope Julius, possibly absorbed in his Vatican gardening, rather carelessly replied that Farnese might do as he liked. Farnese hereupon admitted a French garrison into Parma. The Emperor, unable to tolerate a step that would give the French a firmer footing in Italy, instantly complained to the Pope in terms that allowed of no neglect. Julius cited Farnese to Rome, and begged the Emperor to aid him against his rebellious feudatory! This affair produced a grave rupture between the Emperor and the King of France, and made the latter extremely indignant with the Pope.

At the same time came rumours that Saxony and Brandenburg had formed a league to prevent

Charles V. from totally subjugating Germany. . All these were ominous signs. Nevertheless, in April, the Pope sent his Legate and nuncios to Trent, with definite orders to open the Council on May 1st.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND ASSEMBLY AT TRENT.

[*May*, 1551—*April*, 1552.

ON May 1st, the Legates reopened the Council in the old spot. The proceedings were of a merely formal character, and the Session was adjourned until September 1st. Few theologians had as yet arrived, so the members of the Council occupied themselves for some time in reading over the Bologna minutes.

Session XI. May 1st, 1551.

Meanwhile the King of France had sent an envoy to Rome to urge the Pope to accept the position of affairs at Parma, and to warn him of the disastrous consequences of any other policy. As Julius III. declined to alter his attitude, the King's next step was to order his bishops home from Trent within six months, to arrange for a French National Council. This elicited a strong remonstrance from the Pope, who tried to persuade the King that it would be grievously sinful to hinder the work of Trent, and that a National Council would simply curtail the privileges of the Crown. The King, however, held his ground, although plainly showing his desire to come to terms; but the Pope's obdurate refusal of any concession whatsoever led many people to surmise that his aim was to stir up war between Henry and the Emperor.

The King of France repudiates Trent.

At last the King of France, weary of negotiating, distinctly protested against the Council.

The Emperor, on the other hand, did all in his power to further its progress, by hurrying up the German bishops, and giving an ample Imperial safe-conduct to the Protestants. But Maurice of Saxony, who was rapidly becoming the leader of the Lutherans, refused to trust any of his theologians at Trent without a safe-conduct granted by the Council itself. German princes, who remembered the fate of John Huss, at Constance, were justified in demanding the strictest possible pledges for the security of their ministers in a Papal assembly. They might, alas! reasonably hold that no guarantee whatsoever could be adequate.

The Protestants must have a safe-conduct from the Council.

At Trent, the session was held upon the appointed day, merely, however, to adjourn until October 11th, awaiting the arrival of many German bishops. 'Meanwhile,' ran the decree, 'the Congregations shall proceed from the point already reached, treating, as the doctrinal subject, The Eucharist, and, by way of reform, Facilities for Residence, and Episcopal Jurisdiction.' The Legates were about to rise, when Jacques Amyot, of Bellosane, presented a letter from the King of France. This missive was addressed '*Conventui*,' a word which the Spaniards received with a roar of disapproval. It declared that the King of France could send no bishops to Trent; that he was bound in honour to hold Parma, and that, by holding it, he was really serving Italy and the Church; that it was not Henry's fault if the Pope preferred to fling Europe into war, and to give the impression that the Council was intended, not for the common

Session XII. Sept. 1st.

The French King's protest.

good, but for private ends. Not only did Henry refuse to send bishops, but he formally repudiated Trent, and declared its decisions invalid, assuring the Council, as he had previously assured the Pope, that he would have recourse to the remedies which his ancestors had been wont to adopt against partial Popes.

The Legates merely directed Amyot to attend in his place on October 11th, when he should receive the Synod's reply. Despite their nonchalance, it was widely felt that the King of France had dealt the Council a most damaging blow. No man to whom liberty was dear could fail to be unfavourably impressed by the authoritative manner in which the Legates had treated a message which was deliberately addressed to the Council at large.

A damaging blow.

Henry at once translated his words into actions, by dismissing the Papal nuncio, and forbidding the export of moneys to Rome. At the same time, however, by way of emphasizing his orthodoxy, he carefully sharpened his edicts against the Huguenots. The Pope's counterblast was a resolve to swamp the French influence in the Roman College by the creation of new Cardinals.

Meanwhile, at Trent, conciliary work was being pushed on with expedition. Immediately after the session, a schedule of Protestant opinions on the Eucharist was placed in the hands of the theologians, who (much to the dissatisfaction of the Italians) were bidden to deal with the subject, not by the scholastic method, but by that of positive theology, and to assign reasons for their decisions from the Bible and the Church Fathers!

The Council discusses the Eucharist.

In so obstinately conservative an assembly as

Trent, any hint of the modern spirit causes surprise, and calls for explanation. It would, however, be quite too simple to suppose that this change of method was the sign of any entrance of the spirit of the Renaissance. It is more likely that the change was resolved upon in view of the expected influx of Germans. It was an apparent concession, but only apparent, for, scholasticism or Biblical theology, it was all alike in the long run! Meanwhile, the Fathers, much wearied by their past experience of the Schoolmen, were delighted with a more intelligible method.

The theologians condemned the Protestant articles—Lutheran and Zwinglian alike—with impartiality. They expressed a desire for a positive statement of Romish doctrine, a request which, being warmly supported by the Italians (who saw here an opening for the old scholasticism), was acceded to. It was also agreed to schedule abuses in the administration of the Eucharist, and to suggest remedies.

At this point, the Imperial ambassadors demanded the postponement of the Eucharist question until the arrival of the Protestants, which, as they assured the Legates, would be conditional upon the granting of a safe-conduct *by the Council*. The Legates referred to Rome, where, after long and serious debate, the Pope promised a safe-conduct, and instructed the Legates to split up the Eucharist articles, and to postpone the decision of all that bore upon the concession of the cup to the laity.

The theologians, meanwhile, were making progress with the framing of the positive statement of the Eucharist doctrine. Protestants who vainly rack their brains to form any intelligible notion of

'transubstantiation,' will not be surprised to read that even at Trent the question of the mode of the Real Presence was debated with fierce passion. The Franciscans were comparatively reasonable as against the Dominicans, who drove their theory into the most delirious mysticism, and stood unabashed by their '*credimus, quia impossibile!*' Their debate was bewildering. The Elector of Cologne and John Gropper (one of the very ablest of German divines) followed the discussion with most patient attention, and ended by expressing a wish that either party showed the slightest sign of understanding what they talked about, instead of being satisfied with barren scholastic jargon. When the matter finally reached general congregation, the Fathers judiciously resolved to pass it over as briefly as possible, and to devise some sufficiently comprehensive formula. The theologians finished their work by noting various Eucharistic abuses, and by drawing up appropriate canons, all of them in the direction of a more superstitious sacramentarianism.

Controversies on the 'Real Presence.'

In the Reform Congregation, meanwhile, the bishops and canonists had been occupied with various matters pertaining to Episcopal Jurisdiction. What the foreign bishops felt most keenly upon this subject was the habitual flouting of their authority by appeals to Rome. John Gropper, of Cologne, made a most weighty speech, contending that appeal ought not to be carried outside the limits of the kingdom in question; and that immediate appeal *per saltum* to the supreme court, and appeal on merely interlocutory decisions, should be forbidden. He also advocated the revival of the ancient Synodical Courts, and the abolition of the

Episcopal Jurisdiction.

Gropper on 'Appeals.'

official episcopal tribunals, which he declared to be grown so scandalous that Germany could endure them no longer. Gropper's calm and logical indictment was so effective that the Legates put up a canonist of their own to answer him. Most of his proposals were, indeed, too radical to be entertained. Direct appeal to Rome was re-sanctioned, and the suggestion of appeal 'on final and definitive issues alone,' was accepted merely in criminal cases, although this restriction was deeply needed in civil suits. With regard to Judgments against Bishops, some provision was made, greatly to the Legates' distaste, for safe guarding the episcopal dignity. The German bishops, after hard fighting, secured a slight change in the law for 'unfrocking,' which made it easier to punish scandalous clerics. Finally, a Reform Decree covering these points was framed in eight chapters; the Legates were commissioned to draw up a safe-conduct for the Protestants, and a few doctrinal questions on the Eucharist were postponed. By this time the Session-day had arrived.

Unfrocking.

At the 13th Session was read and approved the positive Eucharist Article, fortified by eleven anathemas. Then came the Reform Decree. Then a statement that four articles on the Eucharist are postponed (for the sake of the Protestants) until Jan. 25th, when they are to be taken in conjunction with the Doctrine of the Mass. Meanwhile, it was decided to devote the next Session on Nov. 25th to the subject of Penance and Extreme Unction. Then was read a draft of the Safe-Conduct. It carefully abstained from making any verbal mention of Protestants, and was granted, moreover, simply '*quantum ad Synodum spectat.*' After this,

Session XIII. Oct. 11th.

The Safe-Conduct.

the heralds shouted for the envoy of the King of France. But there was no reply. So the secretary read aloud the answer that had been promised to Jacques Amyot—a stiff and haughty reply: the envoy had done well not to waste his time in waiting for it. The session then closed.

The decrees were at once printed and circulated. The minor clergy were very dissatisfied with the Reform articles, as placing them under greater subjection to the bishops. The Protestants were surprised that, notwithstanding the Emperor's explicit demand for the postponement of all dogma, only four articles had been reserved. As for the Safe-Conduct, they said at once that it was captious and tricky; they resolved that they would have a Safe-Conduct on the exact lines of that given to the Bohemians by the Council of Basle, or none at all!

Is unsatisfactory.

At Trent, the theological congregation had comparatively little difficulty in framing its conclusions on the doctrinal subject of Penance and Extreme Unction; while the reform congregation dealt with various points of Episcopal Jurisdiction. The bishops sought to secure as much authority as possible: the Legates, to concede as little as they could. This sharp collision of interests was concealed by a professed regard for higher interests; but the veil at times was very thin. At last, fourteen articles were passed, none of them of much importance to the modern reader.

Penance. Extreme Unction.

Meanwhile, two envoys from Wittenberg had reached Trent, with orders to present publicly to the Council their Confession of Faith, and to add that it will be copiously defended by Wittenberg theologians on receipt of a Safe-Conduct on the Basle model. Nothing could

Wittenberg envoys at Trent.

induce the envoys to recognise the Pope's presidency over Trent, or to treat directly with the Legates, but they kept urging their claim to address the Council itself. The Legates sent post-haste to Rome, to ask what they were to do, for the envoys of other German cities were reported to be on their way.

They stand stiff.

The Pope's reply was much influenced by the fact that, early in November, the Emperor had established himself at Innsbrück, and that from that city, dangerously near Trent, he was watching the Council with undisguised interest. To deal abruptly with the Protestant envoys might tempt the Emperor to make terms with his heretic subjects. The Pope, therefore, sent a carefully non-committal reply: the Legates were to act 'as circumstances might require,' and, if pushed to extremities, were to repeat the old trick of cleverly and secretly breaking up the Council. In any case, they were to hurry its proceedings as much as possible: and, above all, they were to crowd out the discussion of Reform by elaborately treating Dogma. Moreover, they were to keep the bishops in a good temper, even at the cost of dangerous concessions; for, as Julius reminded the Legates, 'So long as the Papal authority remains unbroken, such concessions can easily be revoked.'

Charles V. comes to Innsbrück.

The Pope's policy.

The session was held on Nov. 25th. Its doctrinal decrees covered the ground of Penance and Extreme Unction. In Reform, it affirmed the fourteen articles previously decided upon in Congregation, with regard to Episcopal Jurisdiction and various associated points of ecclesiastical discipline. The next session was to be held on Jan. 25th, for the treatment of the

Session XIV. Nov. 25th.

Mass, Holy Orders, and the deferred Eucharist articles. The Legates had flung in the subject of Orders, by way of obeying the Pope's command that the Fathers should be glutted with dogma.

They did their utmost to keep secret the decrees of this session. This new departure was suggested by the fact that the decrees of former sessions had no sooner been issued, than, thanks to the printing-press, Trent began to be flooded with replies and criticisms, to the confusion of the Fathers' minds, and, obviously, to the detriment of their subsequent deliberations. But it was impossible to keep secret the debates of so heterogeneous an assembly as Trent. The attempt to do so merely whetted the public curiosity, and elicited a more searching criticism. And it was especially unfortunate for the Legates and for Rome, that, of all doctrines, it should have been the doctrine of *Penance* which they had sought to suppress until such time as suited them!

German criticism of the Penance Decrees.

Under any circumstances, Germans would have been likely to scan jealously Rome's ultimate deliverance upon this subject: as it was, they simply fell upon it and tore it piecemeal. Their objections to the Romish theory of Absolution were such as have been so powerfully urged ever since. And as for the solemn injunction to penitents to recount to their confessors every minutely qualifying circumstance of their guilt, so that the penance might be exactly apportioned to the crime,—Germans who knew, by sad experience, that the mumbling of five *Pater Nosters* was often judged an adequate atonement for theft, adultery, and murder, burst out into loud and scornful laughter, and, although a nation 'of many consonants and little wit,' dealt with the Romish Decree in a manner which not

distantly recalls Pascal's later demolition of Jesuit casuistry.

During the whole of December, the Wittenberg envoys, sticking bravely to their guns, steadily pressed their demand for free and open speech. They were much cheered in their hitherto solitary struggle by the arrival of the representatives of six other Protestant cities, as also by a note from the Emperor, bidding them wait patiently for the envoys of Maurice of Saxony, and promising that they should then be heard, and well heard, by the Council.

Wittenbergers are pertinacious.

Are reinforced.

Maurice of Saxony, indeed, in a sense to which the Emperor was strangely blind, held the key of the whole situation. He was already in close fellowship with the sturdiest of the Smalcalde Protestants, and was at the head of a powerful army; he was also in negotiation with the King of France. Very early in 1552, the three German Electors at Trent—the Electors of Mayence, Cologne, and Triers—were so alarmed by ominous rumours from Germany, as to entreat the Emperor to allow them to return and provide for the security of their dominions; but Charles laughed at their fears—'his eye was everywhere, and nothing escaped his notice!'

Much anxiety about Maurice of Saxony.

On January 7th, the long-expected Saxon envoys reached Trent, and at once made their presence felt. They promptly called upon the Imperial ambassadors, and gave them a message blunt enough for an ultimatum: 'Our theologians are within 40 miles of Trent, only waiting for that Basle Safe-Conduct. Until they come, all Council business must be stopped; and, when they come, all past decrees must lie open for

The Saxon envoys arrive.

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re-consideration: else we shall declare that this is no general Council!' They requested the Imperial ambassadors to find them an opportunity of delivering this message in Congregation. The Legate Crescentius firmly persisted that they could not be permitted to address Congregation; at all events, not until they had fully recognised the presidential authority. He was unmoved by a sharp letter from Innsbrück. At last, however, a grudging assent was wrung from him, and it was arranged that the envoys should address the Congregation on Jan. 24th. Meanwhile a Safe-Conduct was drawn up. The Imperial ambassadors, overjoyed at their success, begged a draft of the Safe-Conduct, and bore it in triumph to the Protestant envoys, magnifying to them the goodness and condescension of the Fathers, and expressing a hope that the envoys, now that they had secured what they wanted, would behave themselves quietly and reasonably! The envoys glanced over the draft, and, to the dismay of the ambassadors, handed it back, declining to have anything to do with it! Now began again the weary strife! Legate Crescentius doggedly maintained; 'That or nothing!' De Montfort then blandly suggested a verbatim transcript of the Basle Safe-Conduct. The Legate said that he would ask the opinion of Congregation. Meanwhile, he so intrigued with the Italian prelates as to induce them not to alter the form.

They reject a new Safe-Conduct.

On the 24th, the Saxons and Wittenbergers were heard in General Congregation. They did not mince their words. This, the only occasion on which the Protestants stood face to face with the Council, was well used. 'Maurice of Saxony,' said the envoys in substance, 'has long intended—if ever there were a general,

Protestants address the Council!

free, and Christian Council, with a Scriptural standard and a resolute reform of the head and members of the Church—to send his theologians to it. But you must grant them the Basle Safe-Conduct: meanwhile, you must adjourn the discussion of all controverted points. Maurice also requests that your past decisions, most of which contain grave errors, may be re-examined, and his theologians heard upon them, for these decisions were reached by very few of those who ought to have been present at a Universal Council. Finally, all members of the Council must be exempted from their oath of obedience to the Pope; for otherwise no real reform of abuses is possible.'

After this, the envoys retired, and the Congregation, duly deliberating, resolved that the form of the Safe-Conduct should *not* be altered. This obstinate struggle did not delay the session, which was held with unusual stateliness and splendour, with the view of impressing and overawing the heretic visitors, the news of whose presence had gathered a great concourse of spectators to Trent. There was also a strong military escort, as if to show that of the things of this world Rome is not wholly bankrupt. One easily pictures the phlegmatic unconcern with which the Saxons and their colleagues would watch the show. The session was more showy than solid. It simply decreed that 'we had intended at this meeting to deal with the Mass, Holy Orders, and the deferred Eucharist articles; but, for the sake of the Protestants, we adjourn until March 19. We have granted an ampler Safe-Conduct. Meanwhile, we will proceed to discuss the Sacrament of Matrimony, and various points of Reform.' And hereupon the Synod rose.

Congregation is obstinate.

Session XV., Jan. 25, 1552.

An idle, showy Session.

Nothing could induce the Protestants to accept the Safe-Conduct so plausibly spoken of in the above decree. Further, they complained to the Emperor that the Legates were hurrying on the settlement of dogma. After a sharp letter from Charles, it was reluctantly agreed to suspend discussion, to the great indignation of the Pope; but the menacing note from Innsbrück rendered it necessary to disobey him. Thus February slipped by without the holding of congregations. But private meetings were held almost daily, and the main topic of conversation was the news from Germany, growing more and more ominous, and producing in all thoughtful minds a vague but very real conviction that grave events were at hand.

Early in March, Maurice ordered his envoys to repeat their demands. He also said that he was about to visit the Emperor at Innsbrück. This communication did much to tranquillize apprehensions at Trent. But a few days later came the news that Henry of France was in close league with the Protestant princes, and that a combined movement against the Emperor was impending. The three Electors at once hastened home, and, immediately afterwards, the Saxon envoys stole quietly away. Trent was now full of alarm, and on March 19th the Session was adjourned until May 1st. The Protestants who remained could get nothing done. Cardinal Crescentius, worn out with toil and anxiety, was seriously ill; the nuncios were irresolute, and the bishops at discord.

Maurice moves.

On April 1st, the cannon began to speak. Maurice marched upon Augsburg, and captured it after a siege of three days; and rumour came that the Tyrolese were menacing Innsbrück. Most of the Italian bishops has-

Siege of Augsburg.

tened away from Trent, and the Protestants resolved to leave. Crescentius was often insensible; the nuncios were afraid to wait until May 1st, but equally afraid to act without instructions from Rome. At last the Pope sent word that the Council was to be suspended.

Hereupon, the nuncios instantly held the session. It was marked by every feature of haste and trepidation. All the ceremonies were curtailed, and the work of the Fathers was confined to the barest essentials. The Secretary proposed a hastily drafted decree, 'that the Council be adjourned until better days.' The Italians eagerly assented. Twelve Spaniards protested that the Council was perfectly safe, and that adjournment was needless. But the nuncio Sipontinus dismissed the Fathers with his blessing, and few of them were leisurely in their departure. The sick Legate, Crescentius, was borne to Verona, where, in a little while, he died.

Session XVI., April 28th.

Council dissolves.

Thus, for the second time, the Council of Trent was interrupted.

It is no part of our task to describe the war in Germany. Maurice was irresistible, and Europe saw with amazement the great Emperor Charles V. fleeing for refuge into the mountain fastnesses of Carinthia. History had avenged Pope Clement VII. Early in August, the victorious Protestants concluded with Charles the Treaty of Passau—that memorable guarantee of German liberties. By this treaty, the Landgrave of Hesse was released from his captivity, full religious liberty was secured to the Augsburg Confessionists, Protestants were made eligible for seats in the Imperial chamber, and it was arranged that a Diet should be

Charles V. a fugitive.

Treaty of Passau.

held within six months for the ultimate settlement of all religious differences. It was expressly stipulated that, in the event of the resultlessness of the Diet, the religious provisions of Passau should be solemnly renewed. Upon these terms, Charles V. regained his Imperial authority, and the unhappy 'Interim' scheme was decisively swept away.

CHAPTER V.

INTERVENING EVENTS, AND THE MANNER OF THE THIRD ASSEMBLING [1552–1561]

THE suspension of the Council released the Pope and his Court from a multitude of anxieties. They devoutly hoped that it might never meet again. For a time, their hope seemed likely to be realized. The original convocation of the Council had been remotely due to the earnest desire of Protestants for reunion with a purified Church. But the most sanguine Protestants had been speedily disillusionized. It was as obvious that they would never ask for another as it was that no Council could reclaim them to Rome. The second assembly of Trent had been in the main the outcome of the political ambitions of Charles V., as was instantly perceived by the King of France. But Charles V. was unlikely to press for a third convocation. After Passau, his interest in large schemes of policy seems to have declined; his vision of a genuine German Empire, hereditary, and solidified by religious uniformity, had faded away. From Charles, then, no request for a revival of the Council need be expected.

The Pope did his best to make such revival appear unnecessary, by projecting and partly executing a scheme of reform which, although unsatisfactory, yet gave a certain show of religious energy and devotion at Rome.

Many things happened just now of a character to rehabilitate the much-shaken ascendency of Rome.

Rome's prospects improving.

The obedience of the patriarchs of Antioch and Mosul was hailed as a sign of the world-wide extent of Papal power. A far more substantial gain was the recovery of England under Mary. Even in France, which was (and remains throughout the rest of our story) the dangerously weak point in the Romish position, heretics were being punished with laudable piety. In Germany also there was much to be thankful for, for Ferdinand, who stood nearest to the Imperial throne, was enjoining in his own hereditary States the strictest obedience to Rome. He went so far as to publish a catechism, less pleasing to the Pope, for, although its substance was Catholic, a king's interference with religion was an act of Uzzah-like presumption, which Rome felt strong enough to rebuke with severity. Thus two years slipped away, and Papal prospects seemed steadily brightening.

In February, 1555, the long-postponed German Diet assembled at Augsburg. Ferdinand, who presided in his brother's name, suggested the holding of an amicable Conference, with a view to the final settlement of the religious question. His advice was well received; but it instantly raised the suspicions of the Pope, who, as Sarpi says, 'groaned aloud that he had always a Council, a Diet, or a Conference upon his shoulders!' He sent Cardinal Morone to Augsburg to thwart the contemplated Conference, and to urge the Germans to follow the example of England.

1555. Augsburg Diet.

Another Conference!

But before Morone had been a week at Augsburg, he heard of the death of Pope Julius III., and

hurried back to Rome to take his place in the conclave. But, with all his haste, he arrived too late. Once again a Trent Legateship had proved to be a stepping-stone to the Papal chair; for the new Pope was Marcellus Cervinus, Cardinal of Santa Croce. Marcellus, however, was aged and infirm; the multitudinous functions of Easter exhausted the last remnants of his strength; he was seized with apoplexy, and died on April 30th, after a pontificate of three weeks. But even in this brief period he had gravely alarmed the Court by his expressed intention of executing most thorough and searching reforms; and there was that in his tone and in his known character which indicated that he meant what he said. Romish officialism felt itself on the verge of unknown but disastrous changes; and the Pope's death was a relief to all who were interested in the retention of abuses.

Death of Pope Julius III.

Pope Marcellus.

A happy release!

The Cardinals again went into conclave, and after a severe struggle their choice fell upon John Peter Caraffa, who assumed the title of Pope Paul IV. Caraffa was a Neapolitan, of noble family, a rigid ascetic, and a severe martinet of gloomy and morose temper. He was the founder of the Theatine order, and had taken the chief part in the introduction of the Inquisition into the Papal States. There was some fear in Rome of a mean monastic papacy; with the consolation, however, that the Pope's advanced age might render him powerless for mischief, and that very soon the highest prize in the Church would again lie open for competition.

Election of Pope Paul IV.

His character.

But public opinion was once more deceived in its

calculations. This octogenarian monk blossomed instantly into a superb prince. It seemed as though an Incarnate Fury had become Head of the Church. His four years' rule displays features that are difficult to comprehend without a serious recourse to the theory of demoniacal possession.

An infuriate Pontiff.

Paul IV. announced, at the outset, that he would be served 'as befits a great prince.' He raised his nephews to power, and received the English embassy with incredible hauteur, according his forgiveness to England, but only on the condition that all confiscated Church property should be restored. He conferred upon Mary the title of Queen of Ireland, calmly ignoring the fact that Ireland had long been subject to English sovereigns. He stormed at the news of the religious treaty at Augsburg, and would hear of no excuse. He laughed to scorn Ferdinand and Charles's plea of their oath, and affirmed that he was absolute, and that all monarchs were beneath his foot. Scornfully trampling upon his own pledges to the contrary, he created seven new cardinals (in the French interest), and came near to inflicting personal chastisement, in the very chapel itself, upon a faintly murmuring cardinal.

At this time, Ferdinand found himself compelled to grant the cup to his Austrian subjects, and the Bavarians also obtained great concessions. The Poles sent five requests to the Pope. In 1556, Paul said that he would reform Rome, and then bring the secular courts to their senses. He found difficulties in his path; but the suggestion of a Council flung him into a passion: 'I am above all Councils. But, if there be a Council anywhere, it shall be at Rome!' The Pope spoke of Trent with unmitigated

scorn, as 'a handful of bishops and a few mediocre theologians.' He induced the King of France shamefully to break a truce with Charles V., which Reginald Pole had laboriously achieved. He denounced Charles and Ferdinand as heretics, and shut up Imperialist and even Spanish nobles and prelates in the Castle of St. Angelo, until at last, in sheer despair, the Duke of Alva marched upon Rome, and Europe was impressed by a startling contrast; for at the very time when the Emperor Charles V. was solemnly abdicating and retiring into seclusion to seek his peace with God, the Pope, old enough to be Charles's father, was helping with his own pontifical hands to build earthworks for the defence of Rome!

Alva marches on Rome.

Early in 1557 a French army, under the Duc de Guise, marched into Italy to relieve the Pope by making a diversion in Lombardy. Its failure was once more the result of Paul's furious dictation. He insisted that Guise should march into Naples. The army became tangled up in the Abruzzi country. Guise was then recalled into France after the defeat at St. Quentin, and the Pope was now left face to face with Alva's blockading force. But a curious air of unreality rests over the campaign. Rome lay clearly enough at Alva's mercy; but the butcher of Dutch heretics was lamb-like in Italy. Possibly he remembered the capture of Clement VII., and shrank from a repetition of that scandal; possibly he was doubtful as to the scope of his instructions. However that may have been, Alva made terms with the Pope in September. Paul behaved precisely as if *he* had been the victor: he made no pledges, and

The French army of relief fails.

Is recalled.

Alva makes terms with the Pope.

it was as an act of favour that he admitted Alva to an audience.

No sooner was this episode over than the Pope was enraged at the lenity shown by the French king to some Huguenot prisoners. He said that he *must* hold a Council to put Europe straight. Next year, he affected great piety; dismissed his nephews, wailing over their sins; and devoted himself to his favourite study of the Inquisition. He furbished up all the old anti-heretic Bulls and Edicts, and commanded that they should be put into instant execution—a course which would have wrapped Christendom in flames. This Bull was treated as waste paper, and Europe seems to have watched with blank amazement the career of this irresponsible madman.

Paul IV. insults Ferdinand.

There were, indeed, no limits to his frantic arrogance. Charles V. had abdicated the Imperial throne in favour of Ferdinand. The Pope flatly refused to acknowledge the new Emperor; nor did he change his mood even at the death of Charles V., in September, 1558. Ferdinand behaved with much dignity, at once suspending diplomatic intercourse with Rome. Two months later, Mary Tudor died, and the Pope looked on with sullen rage as England once more abjured his supremacy.

France was now the only nation from which the Pope might expect aid. But in April, 1559, the Kings of France and Spain concluded the Treaty of Cambrai, one of the most important articles of which pledged them to co-operate for a General Council, to effect Church reforms and the suppression of heresy. The two sovereigns were so alarmed at the surprising progress of Protestantism in their dominions, that they knew not what to do for the best. The news of the

Treaty of Cambrai.

Treaty of Cambrai grievously afflicted the aged Pope. He was so disturbed in mind that he did little but mumble, with half-senile vacuity, about the blessings of the Inquisition. In June, Henry's sudden violence against the Paris councillors restored him to animation and hope. But, at this crisis, the French king was killed at a tournament, and the Pope was appalled at the thought that his only ally (and he a doubtful one!) had passed away, and left him at the mercy of the much-insulted German Emperor. This was the final blow. Ill, worried, and in desperate case, the fierce old Pope rapidly succumbed, and died on August 18th, 1559. Even before he had ceased to breathe, a frenzy of popular hatred burst out in Rome. The Caraffas, and all that belonged to them, became the object of execration. Rome seemed to awake from an evil dream, and the city was filled with tumultuous fury, as it recalled the events of the past four years, and the bewildering career of this maddest of Popes. The populace burst open the prisons and released four hundred captives; next, they made for the head-quarters of the Inquisition, set its living victims free, and fired the building. They could scarcely be restrained from sacking the Minerva Convent, where dwelt the servants of the Holy Office.

Death of the King of France.

Death of Paul IV.

It was amid scenes of almost unprecedented tumult that the Cardinals went into conclave on September 5th. It was not until December 24th that the untiring toil of Cosmo de Medici was rewarded by the election of John Angelo, Cardinal de Medici, who assumed the title of Pius IV.

Election of Pope Pius IV.

The first task of the new Pope was to tranquillize

Rome; his second, to release the papacy from its false position by instantly recognising the Imperial dignity of Ferdinand. He then applied himself to serious meditation on the subject which every Pope in these times had to face—the question of the resumption of the Council. Pius finally resolved to take no active steps in the matter, but to show himself willing, and even eager, to accede to any request for the resumption.

He recognises the Emperor Ferdinand.

We have now briefly to indicate the events which rapidly led the Pope to perceive that a Council was inevitable, and in Romish interests imperative, and which, within the space of two years, brought about the Third Assembling of Trent.

Hitherto Germany had governed the situation. The centre of gravity now shifts to France, and to the political and religious events of the period in that country. The Pope, as we have seen, fully expecting that the need for a Council would arise, was waiting in uncertainty for the decisive impulse. The sky was black in many regions; it was from France that the lightning first flashed.

The state of France.

The new King found France full of trouble, revolt, and conspiracy—much of it distinctly religious. In April, 1560, it was decided, after much debate, to convene a National Council of French bishops in the coming September. A courier was instantly despatched to appease the Pope, and to justify this sudden step on the ground of political exigencies. Pius sent back word that he would never sanction a National Council, and that he was himself about to convene a General Council! He complained that the French Government first decides upon a course of action, and *then* asks his

Hints of a National Council.

approval. He added that France was fast drifting into apostasy, and that he would send a nuncio to stop it. Accordingly Cardinal Ferrara was sent as Legate into France, with instructions to show the King that a National Council would create schism, and seriously damage the royal prerogative. He was also to urge the King to crush the Huguenots, or to attack Geneva, the hotbed of all heresy and sedition! These suggestions received the scanty attention that they merited, and the King wrote back that he could not wait for a General Council, and that it would be well for the Pope to send a Legate with power to assemble the French bishops, and to consult with them for the religious difficulties of France.

Ferrara goes to stop it.

Pius now saw that he must set about a General Council at once. This struck him as the only sound counteractive to the ominous movements in France. Moreover, Scotland was rapidly drifting from Romanism, and Bohemia was in a critical state.

There must be a new Council!

Therefore, on June 3rd, the Pope informed the ambassadors of the various European powers of his intention to convene a Council at *Trent;* it was to be a *continuation* of the previous assemblies in that city, and was to be held at the earliest possible date. They congratulated him on his resolve. He then wrote to his nuncios at the European Courts, and in due time the replies came dropping in. The King of Spain was favourable, but added that the consent of France and of the Emperor would be indispensable. France objected to Trent as the place of assembly, and very naturally demanded that the proposed Council should be wholly independent of the last one (which

Opinions of the Sovereigns.

France had repudiated). The French King, with a conscious or unconscious stroke of irony, suggested *Constance* as a suitable meeting-place! The Emperor of Germany sent a long state-paper, the gist of which was that he could enter into no arrangement before consulting the Diet, but that he knew that his hereditary States would not hear of a Council unless the Pope would grant the cup, clerical marriages, and thorough-going reforms. He added that they hated the name of Trent, and suggested Constance or Ratisbon. The delay demanded by the Emperor was not unwelcome to the Pope, but for the fact that France was likely to go on worsening. He replied to France and Ferdinand in vague and general terms.

Meanwhile, Catholic prospects were rapidly darkening throughout Europe. Flanders was notoriously disturbed, Scotland was almost hopeless. The King of Bohemia betrayed the Lutheran twang. There was heresy even in Spain; and in Savoy there was very much. Tumults in the Papal dependency of Avignon were, although easily suppressed, gravely ominous of a disposition to attack the Pope's temporal power.

The Church in difficulties.

In France the Huguenots were daily growing in numbers and in determination. In August, the King presided over a stormy assembly at Fontainebleau, at which it was decided that the States should meet at Meaux in October, and that, if the General Council were not previously announced, the French bishops should assemble in the following January to arrange for a National Council. The Pope instantly commissioned Cardinal Tournon to prevent this meeting, and on September 23rd told the ambassadors at Rome that he could wait no

longer for the German Diet, that Trent was the most suitable place, and that past decisions could not be revised. The Imperial ambassador still urged delay, hinting, finally, that over-haste would exasperate the heretics against Italy. Whereupon the Pope raised his voice in anger, and cried that God would not forsake His Church, and that the Catholic sovereigns had troops and money for its defence.

Tournon had sent from France an exceedingly gloomy report, and the Pope was still more disquieted by a letter from the King of Spain, stating that, as Rome did not move, it was not surprising that monarchs should feel compelled to deal themselves with the religious difficulties of their kingdoms. The Pope was afraid that Philip meditated a similar step in Flanders. In October came a message from France, to the effect that, even if a General Council is held, the French will not attend it, unless it is accepted by the Protestants!

Meanwhile the Emperor, heartily backed by the French, was working for a wholly new Council elsewhere than at Trent. This anxiety for a *new* Council arose from the fact that, as the previous decrees had never received Papal confirmation, they would be null and void, unless the approaching Council were a strict continuation of the past.

The Spaniards, on the other hand, were eager for the continuity of the whole Council.

On November 29th, the Pope issued his Bull of Convocation: 'At Easter, the Council of Trent will be resumed.' The Bull of Convocation.

Armed with this Bull, nuncios set out upon their travels to the various courts.

In December, Francis died, and was succeeded by Charles IX. (ætat. 10). The regency of France was now practically shared by the Queen-mother and Henry of Navarre, whose distinctly Protestant leanings at once gave fresh impetus to the Huguenot cause. Very shortly, the States assembled at Orleans, and decided on the liberation of religious captives.

Accession of Charles IX.

It would be interesting to follow the Bull-bearing nuncios on their pilgrimage through Northern Europe. Two of them went to the Emperor at Vienna, and were bidden to attend the Protestant assembly at Naumberg, with the dry injunction to beware of offending the princes. The nuncios went to Naumberg, and presented a copy of the Bull. It was returned to them unopened, with the reply that the princes did not recognise the jurisdiction of the Pope. The assembly added, with elaborate courtesy, that the nuncios' mission from the Pope rendered it impossible to show them such honour as the princes would fain have shown to men so distinguished. Nuncio Delphinus had it in charge to visit the German cities one by one. From the Senates of Nuremberg, Strasburg, Frankfort, Augsburg, and Ulm he received polite but emphatic refusals. And the attitude of these important cities governed that of many lesser ones. Even Catholic cities were shy. The King of Denmark declined to receive the nuncio Commendone. Martinengo, entrusted with the service of the Bull in England, very judiciously halted in Flanders, and, sending over a tentative letter, was straightway warned by Elizabeth not to cross the seas. Conobius was well received in Poland, but was unable to advance into Russia.

The pilgrimage of the nuncios.

He found also that Prussia was firmly for the Augsburg Confession, and would have nothing to do with a Papal Council. The Swiss were, of course, divided. On the whole, this mission simply revealed the thoroughness with which Northern Europe had flung off the authority of Rome. The disappointment which it brought to the Pope is shown by the fact that he could not refrain from telling the ambassadors with childish joy that his Bull had actually been kissed by a Zurich burgomaster!

The Legates for Trent.

He now selected his Legates for Trent. The chief of these was Hercules Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua, a man of noble family and character. It was only through the Emperor that he was prevailed upon to accept a charge which proved thankless and humiliating beyond his worst suspicions. If any living man could give lustre to the Council, it would be Cardinal Mantua. With him were associated Seripandus, a weighty theologian, and Simoneta, a practised canonist, and Papal to the finger-tips; also Cardinals Hosius and Altemps. The Pope now grew quite cheerful about the prospects of the Council, and proceeded to whip up his Italian bishops, whom it was somewhat difficult to convince that he was really in earnest. Meanwhile, his eye was steadily fixed on France, whither (in July) he despatched Cardinal Ferrara as Legate, with orders to counterplot the Huguenots, prevent the holding of National Synods, secure the sending of French bishops to Trent, and treat for the repeal of certain obnoxious ecclesiastical enactments. Ferrara found France in a highly excited state. Ampler concessions had been made to the Hugenots, and an episcopal assembly

was to be held next month, at Poissy, which the leading Protestant ministers had been invited to attend.

In August, this famous Poissy Conference took place. Fourteen Protestant ministers were present, headed by Peter Martyr and Theodore Beza, of Geneva. Among the most interesting features of the proceedings were the sturdy decisiveness of Beza, a flamingly rhetorical speech from Cardinal Lorraine, and the *début* of the Jesuit Lainez, who spoke with furious passion, and reminded the Pope of the ancient Hebrew Prophets. No compromise was possible on the article of the Eucharist, and so the Conference ended fruitlessly.

Conference of Poissy.

Début of Lainez.

Early in December, Simoneta was sent to Trent with orders to open the Council at once. On his arrival, however, he found a countermanding note. The Imperial ambassador at Rome had begged that his sovereign's envoys might be waited for until the middle of January. The Pope acceded to the request, and urged the Spanish envoy, the Marquis Pescara, to make a point of reaching Trent at the same time. To the Trent Legates the Pope sent word that they were to open the Council immediately upon the arrival of these high personages, and not to wait for them later than mid-January.

Thus, at the end of 1561, Trent became, for the third and last time, the centre of interest; and the prelates and ambassadors came trooping in to their old quarters. The Trent of past days had neither reclaimed the Protestants nor benefited the Emperor. It remains for us to examine whether it was

more successful in dealing with the religious troubles of France, or, if not, with what kind of success it—or rather, the Pope, who loomed above the Council—was ultimately satisfied.

CHAPTER VI.

HOW THE COUNCIL SAT FOR THE THIRD TIME AT TRENT [*Jan.–Sept.*, 1562].

THE new year found the Legates and a large array of prelates assembled at Trent, and waiting impatiently for the reopening of the Council. At a General Congregation held on January 15th was read the Bull of Convocation, together with various other briefs. One of these defined the order of precedence which was to be observed by the members of the Council. It paid no regard to the comparative dignity of sees, and therefore elicited a bitter protest from the Archbishop of Braganza, to the effect that while Papal dignity was safe-guarded at every point, the authority of great prelates was ignored. The Legates soothed him by explaining that the arrangement was merely for business purposes.

Once more at Trent.

It was decided to open the Council on Jan. 18th.

Braganza's protest was only one of many incidents during these early days that showed that the Spaniards had come back to Trent in a dangerous mood, and that led the Legates to suspect that many bishops intended to propose to the Council certain revolutionary measures. They resolved to checkmate this by inserting in the decree of opening a clause that should restrict to the Legates themselves the right

The Spaniards are dangerous.

of proposing resolutions. This deadly blow at the freedom of the Council consisted merely of the insertion of four words in the draft decree, viz.: '*Proponentibus Legatis ac Præsidentibus*'; but to these words the reader cannot pay too much attention, for they affected the whole future of the Council, and, in a few months' time, a life-and-death struggle raged around them. '*Legatis Proponentibus*'!

On January 18th, the Legates and Cardinals, with 112 bishops and theologians and all the city clergy, attended by a military escort, marched in solemn procession from the Church of St. Pietro to the Cathedral, and filled the historic Session-Hall. Cardinal Mantua sang mass; the Archbishop of Rheggio preached on the authority of the Church, the primacy of the Pope, and the functions of Councils. Then was sung the '*Veni Creator Spiritus*,' and after this was read the Decree of Opening. *Placet*. But keen ears had been offended by the unusual phrase '*Proponentibus Legatis*,' which the Spaniards declared to be novel and restrictive of liberty. They demanded that their protest should be minuted. The Legates, however, made no sign; and, after fixing the next meeting for February 26th, the Synod rose. Session XVII. Jan. 18th. 1562.

The Legates at once reported progress at Rome. The Pope read their statement in Consistory, where some sagacious listeners augured ill from the evident *animus* of the Spaniards. The Pope, however, praised the Legates for their adroitness, and bade them cling fast to the '*Propon. Leg.*' clause. And, by way of practically encouraging them, he hurried off to Trent a fresh relay of Italian theologians.

The first question which the Legates chose to

propose was that of Heretical Books, and whether heretics were to be invited to Trent under Safe-Conduct. In the year 1559, Pope Paul IV. had established the famous *Index Expurgatorius*—a very comprehensive list of books dangerous to Romish interests. This Index, and the whole book question, Pius IV. now submitted to the Council. The general opinion was that Paul's Index was so excellent that it would be a pity to interfere with it. There were, however, a few protesting voices, which urged that the Index was too rigid, and that the whole subject of books ought to be dealt with by the Council independently.

The Book Question.

Paul's 'Index.'

As to inviting heretics under Safe-Conduct, there was a division of opinion even among the Legates themselves. Mantua was in favour of courteously inviting the Protestants; but he was firmly opposed by Simoneta. Many bishops argued that no one asked for a Safe-Conduct, and that Germany disowned the Council. The Spaniards, in particular, were vehement in their disapproval, fearing lest the granting of a Safe-Conduct might obstruct the working of the Inquisition. It was finally decided to appoint a committee on the Index, and to adjourn the delicate question of the Safe-Conduct.

The Legates not quite harmonious!

In the course of a few days, the three ambassadors of the Emperor of Germany—viz.: The Archbishop of Prague, Sigismond Thoun, and the Hungarian Bishop of Quinque Ecclesiæ—arrived at Trent. They were received with all due respect, but the most effusive greeting was reserved for the Portuguese envoy, who brought assurances of his sovereign's absolute loyalty to Rome.

Arrival of ambassadors.

The Imperial ambassadors at once made their presence felt by handing the Legates a written list of five demands, viz.: that the phrase '*continuation of the Council*' should be carefully avoided; that the session should be postponed, or devoted only to formalities; that the Protestants should not be irritated at the outset on the Book question; that a most ample Safe-Conduct should be granted, and that the deliberations of the Congregations should be kept secret. To this document the Legates gave a carefully conciliatory reply. They had already sent to Rome for instructions on the Index and Safe-Conduct matters. Imperialist demands.

The Pope was in a state of wrath at the news of fresh concessions made to the Huguenots, and at various edicts of the Poissy assembly. He was also impatient of the indolence of the Council, and grievously suspicious of the Spanish bishops. At this juncture, a special envoy—Louis de St. Gelais, Sieur de Lausac—arrived at Rome, to explain the condition of affairs in France. He informed the Pope that a number of French bishops were going to Trent: that the Government is obliged to act very circumspectly, but expects much good from the Council—*if* Germany accepts it. The envoy added that the French and German Protestants were inseparable: he begged the Pope to satisfy them as to place, Safe-Conduct, and mode of procedure. The Pope replied, that although France needed the Council most, her bishops are the last to arrive. As for the Protestants, he had even abased himself to induce them to attend; their absence will not be suffered to hinder the Council.

To return to Trent:—The Session of Feb. 26th was little more than formal. It passed a decree for

the appointment of a Committee on the Book, question, and also that General Congregation be empowered to grant a Safe-Conduct. The Legates were about to close the Session when the great and able Spanish Archbishop of Granada made an attempt to reopen an old wound by demanding that to the official title of the Council a clause should be added, affirming that it '*represented the Church Universal.*' Several prelates, mainly Spaniards, supported the Archbishop. The Legates, however, met the difficulty by their favourite policy of masterly silence, and dismissed the assembly until May 14th.

Session XVIII. Feb. 26th.

Granada on the Council's title.

Early in March, the Safe-Conduct was published—a document greatly botched and boggled, so as to guard the privileges of the Inquisition, and to be as non-committal as possible. In Germany, there was considerable speculation among the Protestants as to the meaning of the unusual course of issuing the Safe-Conduct from General Congregation instead of from a Session. The matter was practically unimportant, except to those who found a curious pleasure in watching the obliquities of Romish policy; for nothing short of force could now have drawn any Lutheran to Trent.

A Safe-Conduct!

The Imperial ambassadors now urged the Legates to pay serious attention to Reform, and to press the Protestants to attend the Council. The Legates, however, could reply, with apparent force, that the German bishops had not thought it worth while to come to Trent, and that the rudeness of the Protestants at Naumberg had rendered further advances impossible.

On March 11th, the Legates gave out twelve articles for discussion. They related to various

features of Church administration, the most immediately important of which was the article on Pastoral Residence: 'What provision can be made so that bishops and curates shall reside in their parishes, nor be absent from the same unless for causes just, honourable, necessary, and useful to the Catholic Church?' The only marvel was that the Legates should ever have consented to propose a question of this character. Simoneta, indeed, did his utmost to secure its withdrawal, and it was only through the tenacity of the Imperial ambassadors that it was retained on the list.

Pastoral Residence again!

During the second half of March, several ambassadors arrived, of whom the most notable was the Marquis Pescara, from the King of Spain. There came also two envoys from Cosmo of Florence, two from the Swiss Catholics, and two from Hungary.

From April 7th to April 18th, the Congregations assiduously debated the first four of the Legates' articles, and were especially diffuse on Pastoral Residence. The Archbishop of Granada made a strenuous demand for the declaration of the *Jus Divinum* of Residence, which he asserted to be a basal article of Church order. 'Decree this,' said Granada, 'and all will be well! reject it, and the abuses of non-residence will defy all artifical remedies!' But as nothing would so shatter the Romish hierarchy as the assertion that the pastor's obligation to reside among his flock was a part of his Divine calling, instead of being a Papal ordinance, Granada found plenty of opponents. The main arguments used on the Papal side were,—

Granada demands the *Jus Divinum*.

Fierce opposition.

that the Scripture texts quoted by Granada were simply counsels of perfection; that non-residents

have always been punished (when punished at all!) as violators, not of Divine, but of canon law; that canon law is more revered than the Divine law (Lent, it was urged, was better kept than the Decalogue!): moreover (and here we touch the heart of the opposition), 'bishops would set up their own Divine call against the decisions of Rome, obedience to which is the sheet-anchor of the Church.' Some, indeed, went so far as to urge (what, alas! was often sadly true) that clerical absenteeism was not always an evil! This *Residence* debate abounded in *naïve* confessions like the above—unconscious avowals of Church abuses and Papal aspirations.

Ordination.

Passing on to discuss qualifications for Ordination, the Congregation exposed itself to a sharp reminder from the Bishop of Evreux, that France would never permit the Council to legislate upon temporalities. The question of fees for ordination divided the rich prelates and the poor, and led to the home-thrust, that if Church property were fairly distributed, this question would settle itself. A sub-committee of bishops, presided over by the Legates, was now instructed to draw up decrees from these four articles. But on the vital question of Residence, the Legates Mantua and Simoneta disagreed, the latter being anxious to slur the matter over. There was so much friction between them, that they held a General Congregation in order to ask its opinion; but there arose suspicions about the fairness of the voting, and thereupon hot words and much confusion. That evening, Mantua's secretary went post-haste to Rome, as secretly as possible, to consult the Pope. But the Spaniards heard of his departure, and were furiously indignant. They said—with a truthfulness and honest rage that partly excuse the irreverence

Bad blood about 'Residence.'

of the remark—that 'the Council of Trent is guided by the Holy Ghost—sent from Rome in a carpet-bag!'

And so it came to pass that the next Congregation drifted back to the Residence question, and was so turbulent that the presiding Legate wisely changed the subject, by proposing that the Fathers should try to devise means for the liberation of Catholic Bishops imprisoned in England! This was a specious theme, and the Congregation rose from the study of it, half-forgetful of its wrath. The following Congregations were calmer, thanks to the mediation of the cooler heads, and the fear that the Legates might make turbulence an excuse for the dissolution of the Council. Certain arrangements were made for the formation of new parishes, the grouping of small ones, and the raising of the necessary funds—arrangements which drew from the Bishop of Paris the reiterated protest that France would never allow the Church to meddle with secular business. Various powers were granted to the bishops (as '*delegates*' of Rome!); and finally the old and hateful institution of Quæstorships was swept away.

Working at Reforms.

The Romish Court was in a state of abject terror at the innovations suggested by the Legates' articles, which they feared would strip the Pope of his power, and check the flow of funds to the exchequer. The Legates were violently reproached for having allowed such subjects to be brought forward at all. Mantua and Seripandus were roundly abused, and among the Papal satellites there was a loud clamour for Mantua's recall. That Legate was, indeed, of too noble a stamp to do well the dirty work of Rome, but his mere presence at Trent was an honour to

Rome is angry with Cardinal Mantua.

the Council; and although the Pope allowed himself to threaten the Cardinal, he felt that he was too valuable a man to part with. By degrees, Pius began to talk more calmly: 'I do not blame,' he said, 'the *Jus Divinum* party—they may be right; but I am displeased that my Legates disagree, and that they cast upon me the responsibility of awkward decisions. And as for the alleged "slavery" of the Council, the secular ambassadors are for ever interfering, and are we in Rome to have no voice?'

The Pope's attitude.

The Pope brought influence to bear upon all whom he could reach, not to press the Residence question. He also sent more Italian bishops to Trent—a very needful measure, for forty French prelates were on their way: moreover, the French ambassadors would soon be at Trent! Their mouths must in some way be stopped. A brilliant idea now visited the Pope's mind. He resolved to subsidise the French Government, on condition that it revokes objectionable edicts, undertakes a religious war, and supports the Pope at Trent. As for 'Residence,' Pius determined to enact it by Bull. He told the French ambassador that his Bull would be more effective than any Trent decree; told him also that if Trent is to be all-powerful, it can reform secular sovereigns as well as the Papacy.

Meanwhile, at Trent, nine decrees had been framed by the Committee, and were now presented to General Congregation. The 'Residence' article and another on 'Clandestine Marriages' were not even mentioned. When the Spaniards murmured at the omission, they were told by the Legates that these subjects were not ripe for decision, but would be brought forward in good time. 'Never!' sneered the Spaniards. But the Legates were firm, the

papalist majority had received its orders, and all opposition was in vain

The Marquis Pescara and the Spanish bishops now demanded, in Philip's name, that the Council be declared a *continuation* of the previous assemblies (in order to safe-guard the old decrees). The Imperial ambassadors said that Ferdinand had pledged his word to the German Protestants that this was a wholly *new* Council: they threatened, if the Spanish request were acceded to, to protest against it, and to quit Trent. Cardinal Mantua, perceiving the folly of needlessly insulting the Emperor, found means to quiet the Spaniards for the present.

Pescara demands 'Continuity of the Council.'

Mantua calms him.

Just now came a letter from the Sieur de Lansac, chief ambassador of France, asking that the Session might be postponed until the arrival of himself and his colleagues. It was resolved to maintain the dignity of the Council by holding the session on the appointed day, and then at once adjourning.

The session was accordingly held on May 14th; but, after the usual ceremonies, immediately adjourned until June 4th.

Session XIX. May 14th.

Very shortly, the Sieur de Lansac arrived at Trent. He was met by many bishops, and particularly by the Spaniards, and was joined next day by his colleagues Ferrier and De Pibrac—men who were destined to play an important and most honourable part in the history of the Council.

Lansac arrives with Ferrier and De Pibrac.

Relations between Trent and Rome had now become dangerously strained. The Pope's umbrage against Legate Mantua had been deepened by recent events. 'Mantua,' said he, 'is *with* the Spaniards on "Resi-

Pope still wrath with Mantua.

dence"—*against* them on "Continuation": against me on all points!' The Pope was especially angry with him for accommodating the recent dispute between the Spaniards and Imperialists, remarking that he must have been either fool or knave to have let slip that unique opportunity of breaking up the Council. And the Roman Court, chiming in with its master's mood, and also acutely sore about its own jeopardised privileges, kept up a steady volley of abuse against the Trent prelates, especially against Legates Mantua, Seripandus, and Hosius.

Murmurs at Trent.

But there were at Trent certain high-spirited men, who began to murmur against the Pope and his set. The Spaniards allowed themselves the luxury of free speech: 'The Pope enslaves the Council: only his Legates "propose"—what Rome bids them. The voices of seventy bishops count for nothing. Everything is cut and dried at Rome. Is this a Council at all? The Pope has forty hireling bullies at Trent. The Romish Court slanders and reviles all our efforts for the service of God. If it foams thus against trifling reforms, what will it do when we reach things that touch the quick?' From such murmurs—and they were common—it may be judged that Trent was perilously near mutiny!

The French envoys, who (as the Legates noted with misgivings) had rapidly come into close relations with the Imperialists, were received in General Congregation on May 26th, when De Pibrac delivered a long and startling speech, very important in itself, and illustrative of the position to which the French ambassadors (with one great and sinister exception!) uniformly adhered. He said, in substance, that: 'France has always wanted a Council in a suitable

Speech of Pibrac.

place. The devil will use many devices to tempt you Fathers from the right path: if you listen to them, the authority of Councils is gone for ever! We have had many fruitless Councils,—fruitless because illegitimate and enslaved. It is for you to prove that the old and evil days are past, and that this is a *new* and legitimate Council, convoked in accordance with ancient usage, accepted by all kings and commonwealths, accepted also by Germany, who will send to it the most able and eloquent men that she has! For such a Council as this, we promise you our king's aid.'

This was the boldest and roughest utterance as yet heard at Trent, and its immediate effect was that of paralysis. The president forgot to make the usual reply, and, with De Pibrac's speech still ringing in its ears, the congregation rose.

The French and Imperialists now combined to urge upon the Legates the postponement of dogma, and the decision of such sound reforms as would, they averred, reunite the Church. Simoneta parried the request. But the 'Residence' question was thornier! The *Jus Divinum* party would not listen to the old excuses. Many bishops were eager to protest and depart. The ambassadors, however, seeing that this would simply be playing the game of the papalists, quieted these bishops, and also prevailed upon the Spaniards to keep silence about 'Continuation.'

At the Session of June 4th, the letter of the King of France was read, and the president gave a delicious interpretation of its meaning, taking occasion, moreover, to notice De Pibrac's speech. 'We have good hope,' said he, 'of healing the disorders of Christendom. The King of France has sent pious and conscientious men

Session XX. June 4th.

to offer, not merely their aid, but also that strict obedience which is this Council's due! The "snares of Satan," so copiously and subtly enumerated, shall not prevail! The Council prefers to take with dignity, and in good part, the quite superfluous lecture of De Pibrac. The ambassadors will discover that their fears are idle!' The French listened to this with vague dissatisfaction, half-suspicious of irony. The Synod then rose until July 16th.

The Synod answers Pibrac.

A day or two afterwards, the Legates, finding it hard to stave off any longer the vexed question of the Concession of the Sacramental Cup to the Laity (so steadily pressed by the Germans, and, in lesser degree, by the French), brought the subject forward under several heads, on the answers to which some positive decree might be constructed.

The 'Cup.'

Now, in the usual course, these heads would have to be spoken of by the theologians one by one. But many prelates dreaded the ordeal of listening to the elaborate disquisitions of eighty-eight divines: still less did they want the time to be wasted; they therefore urged that the debate should be cut short, and the 'Residence' question dealt with once for all. The Legate Simoneta replied, with what looked like an evil sneer, that the minds of the Fathers would need to be a good deal calmer before that subject could be approached. Upon this, there arose a violent *fracas*, which Mantua quieted by imploring the *Jus Divinum* party to wait, and *by pledging his word that their matter should be taken up!* The rage of Simoneta was unbounded, and the papalist bishops could find no language bad enough for Mantua. But the sober-minded and impartial

Mantua's pledge to the *Jus Divinum* party.

were on his side as against Simoneta, whose horizon was bounded by the Pope's will and the interests of the corrupt Roman Court.

When the Imperial ambassadors saw that the Cup question was now fairly launched, they took a step which they had long meditated, but which expediency had led them to defer. They resolved to give an impetus to Reform. To this end they now handed to the Legates a written schedule of Reform proposals, twenty in number, and very drastic. The main heads of this important document were: Reform of the Pope and his Court; reduction of the number of the cardinals; cancelling of scandalous dispensations and exemptions; abolition of pluralism; compulsory residence; annual visitations and diocesan synods; gratuitous ministrations; revised canons against simony; no excommunication unless for mortal sins; intelligible worship; revision of breviaries and missals in a Scriptural direction; prayers in the vulgar tongue; provision for clerical discipline, etc., etc. This was a searching scheme, but unfortunately it contained a final clause (flung in by way of sop to the Pope), to the effect that 'no idle questions, like the *Jus Divinum* of *Residence*, be proposed!' This was the radical weakness at Trent—the mutual jealousies of the non-papal members. Thus the Spaniards thwarted the 'Cup' movement; the Imperialists threw cold water on the Spanish episcopal agitation; and while things were so, the papalist course was clearly *Divide et impera!*

The Imperialist Reform Schedule.

Still, this Imperialist schedule was not pleasant reading for the Legates. After serious counsel, they told the ambassadors that the Cup question was at present all-engrossing, but that their sug-

gestions should be considered, as occasion might allow. The ambassadors saw that this was equivalent to a 'burking' of their Schedule; they contented themselves with sending the Archbishop of Prague to report to the Emperor upon this and upon Council matters in general.

Pope's wrath with Mantua is at its height.

At the news of Cardinal Mantua's definite promise to the 'Residence' party, the Pope's wrath reached its climax. He was seriously meditating the Legate's recall, when, most opportunely, the Archbishop of Lanciano reached Rome with messages from the Legates (Simoneta, however, preferring to write privately and separately to the Pope). After pacifying the Pope by assuring him that thirty of the Residence (*Jus Divinum*) party were zealous supporters of the Papal authority, Lanciano dexterously apologised for Mantua: 'It looks well for you, if the Legates seem to have opinions of their own; they have worked hard to keep the prelates in order. Mantua was very close-pressed when he made that unlucky promise. The ambassadors and bishops are resolved that the Council shall go on. Nor can the "Residence" question be burked. But see how ably Mantua has waived that hateful Imperialist Schedule! Forgive all that has happened by chance or inadvertence. The Legates are so anxious to serve you.'

He is mollified by Lanciano.

The Pope at once sent Lanciano back to Trent with the sweetest of messages. To Mantua, especially, the kindliest greeting ('rejoices in his devotion, and will reward it'); and the Pope hinted that the Legates might be able to 'wind up the Council by next September.'

Meanwhile, for a whole weary fortnight in June, the Trent theologians had been stating their views

on the Cup question. They defended in a variety of ways the Romish practice of withholding the Cup from the laity; the general line taken was that of the authority of the Church to administer as it chooses. Many were in favour of conceding the Cup under certain conditions (despite the determined opposition of the Spaniards, who dwelt upon the danger of sacrilege, the need of maintaining the special dignity of the clergy). When the theologians had ended their deliberations, they presented their report to general congregation.

Discussions on 'The Cup.'

The Legates were at first inclined to grant the Cup to the German States, under certain conditions, but speedily took alarm at signs that this concession would be followed by further demands. They feared a combination of North European States to effect fundamental alterations in Church ritual, for Lansac was evidently in full sympathy with the abhorred Imperialist Schedule, and had been heard to talk very freely about the necessity for vernacular worship, the abolition of images, and the marriage of clergy. The Legates, therefore, determined to stand firm at the very outset; with great skilfulness they persuaded the Imperialists to consent to a *specified* postponement of the subject. They then, greatly relieved, set about framing the dogmatical Decree on the Celebration of the Eucharist; by dint of much toil and patience they overcame all difficulties, and got the Decree ready by the day appointed for the session.

The Legates will not concede the 'Cup.'

At the Session of July 16th was read and approved the Doctrinal Decree (in four chapters, buttressed by anathemas), *justifying* the Romish practice of withhold-

Session XXI. July 16.

ing the Cup from the laity. Then came a decree, postponing indefinitely the decision of the questions whether the Cup ought now to be granted, and, if so, under what conditions. The Reforms Decree dealt with certain comparatively insignificant features of Church discipline and administration (provoking from some rough German wit the sneering criticism that 'the Council is like a doctor who treats consumption as if it were the itch'). After provisionally fixing the next Session for September 17th, the Synod rose.

The growing hostility between Legates Mantua and Simoneta had been noticed at Rome with much disapprobation. Extreme pressure was privately brought to bear upon them, and, in consequence of this, Simoneta dined with Mantua on the Sunday after the Session, and a kind of reconciliation was patched up between them. On the same day the members of the *Jus Divinum* party were greatly mollified by a very suave note from the Pope, the effect of which was but momentary. The papalists, feeling that the 'Residence' question was of the gravest importance, had been working hard to bring some authoritative influence to bear upon the advocates of the *Jus Divinum*. They had so far succeeded that, by a curious coincidence, on this same eventful Sunday, the Marquis Pescara was able to hand to the Secretary of the Council a letter which he had just received from the King of Spain, instructing him not to insist upon the phrase, 'Continuation,' and not to press the *Jus Divinum* of Residence. The Secretary triumphantly showed this letter to the Spanish bishops, to whom it came like a shot between wind and water. The Archbishop of Granada, however, bravely said that the

Pescara snubs the Spanish bishops.

king did not understand the question, and had been imposed upon by the non-resident Archbishop of Seville and the fiercely papalist Bishop of Cuenca; and Granada added that, for his own part, he would press the subject at every opportunity. The letter was also shown to the French and Imperial ambassadors, but they made no sign.

It was now decided to treat at the next session the Doctrine of the Mass, and to rectify certain abuses connected with its celebration. On July 20th, thirteen Protestant assertions with regard to the Mass were placed in the hands of the theologians, it having been previously arranged that no theologian should speak for more than half an hour. It scarcely need be said that they unanimously condemned the Protestant views, or that they argued very vehemently that the Mass is a genuine sacrifice. But they came into serious conflict on the question: 'Did Christ Himself *offer* at the Last Supper?' Many speakers urged the expediency of confining attention to the one point, which, as they held, was clear, viz., that Christ had commanded the oblation of the Mass.

Debates on the Mass.

A Portuguese theologian denied that there was any scriptural authority for the Mass, and warned the Fathers that their only chance lay in sticking to the ground of tradition. 'If you abandon that,' said he, 'you are lost'! He then stated the Protestant position so powerfully, that he could not refute it, and, after a very painful scene, sat down amid a storm of indignation. His friends made many excuses for him; they pleaded that he was pressed for time, seized with sudden nervousness, and inability to express himself. The probable reason of his failure was that his heart was not in it. His apologies

A Portuguese theologian in trouble.

were accepted; sheer expediency forbade any other course. But the poor theologian speedily vanished from Trent, and his name does not appear in the official list of members. This was not the only occasion, during the sitting of the Council, when some Saul was found among the prophets. The penalty in all cases was swift and sure!

The difficulties that had arisen among the theologians re-emerged among the bishops who had to frame the decrees, so that they at last agreed to insert everything on which they differed, and leave the decree to be altered and finally shaped by General Congregation. The Episcopal Committee also drew up a meagre list of abuses in the celebration of the Mass. The Archbishop of Lanciano, with a judicious regard for thorny points, proposed that the Council should send out no positive statement of Mass doctrine, but should content itself with anathemas on heretics, 'so as to wind up speedily!' Whereupon the Archbishop of Palermo replied with much dignity, that 'it was not a question of ending *speedily*, but well'! The majority so heartily followed Palermo, that it was decided to continue the usual plan of publishing a Catholic definition of the dogma under consideration.

'Residence' question again.

The natural result of papalist schemings like Lanciano's, was that the *Residence* question again came into the field. The Spaniards summoned up courage to send a round-robin to their king, begging him to look carefully into this vexed subject, and assuring him that the Council was not free, all discussion being swamped by the Italian vote.

On August 10th, the French ambassadors formally requested the Legates to delay proceedings

until September, when the French bishops were expected to arrive. They received the usual '*Non possumus*' reply, nor were they allowed to address Congregation upon this subject. The French discontent at this conduct changed into bitter and scornful wrath on the receipt of a note from De l' Isle, the French ambassador at Rome, to the effect that, on his urging a similar request, the Pope had referred him to the Council.

A few days later, the Jesuit general Lainez arrived at Trent, and created as much disturbance about his *status* as if he had been the ambassador of some great power! Soon afterwards, De Pibrac went home on leave, whereat the papalists fell into apprehensions of some meditated mischief; but De Lansac, remarking that he was not surprised at their alarm, explained, with grave irony, that the envoy had merely gone home on his own private business. Lainez comes to Trent.

The Archbishop of Prague now returned from his visit to the Emperor, bearing a letter which overawed the Legates into a promise that the *Cup* question should be discussed at the next Congregation. At this meeting—after Lainez had deliberately broken the rules of debate—the Bishop of Quinque Ecclesiæ found his long-looked-for opportunity. 'The Emperor,' said he, 'has done much for religion. He finds that the *Cup* question is one of his greatest difficulties. A vast number of people in many regions are anxious for this concession. It is right that the Council should grant it.' The bishop then formally demanded that the Cup should be granted to the laity in the States of the Emperor. Upon this there followed a scene of wild uproar, quelled by the Legates' bland assurance that the Renewed demand for the 'Cup.' The Debate.

bishops would be able to express their opinion on the voting day!

The French ambassadors now yet once again begged the Legates to postpone the Session for four or five weeks. But they had just heard that Cardinal Lorraine was on his way, accompanied by twenty Paris doctors, and that he intended to make many anti-papal demands. They therefore told the ambassadors that the French bishops had been invited long ago, and that the council business could not be deferred to suit their convenience. Hereupon Lansac broke into loud objurgation: 'You say that the Council is mainly for the sake of the French, yet you will not wait for them, detained as they have been by serious duties at home. We can never get anything from the Legates! It is not their fault. They are but the mouthpiece of Rome! *We shall have to think of other remedies!*'

Lorraine is coming!

The situation became so strained that there was rumour of a dissolution, whereat the majority of prelates were glad; the papalists especially hailed this baseless rumour, being mortally afraid of Lorraine and the sinister proposals which he was expected to bring forward.

The Legates hurried on the framing of the Decrees for next Session. The Mass articles were well advanced, but the question of the Concession of the Cup gave rise to a long and animated debate, in the course of which the opponents of the concession said many wild and vehement things, *e.g.*, that 'the Cup would destroy more souls than it could possibly save.' One bishop said that it was a 'Cup of poison!' and another: 'I suppose we shall have to drink it, God help us!' Still there were

The great 'Cup' debate.

many eminent and judicially-minded prelates, who regarded the demand as one too reasonable to be refused. After a long and fierce debate, the Bishop of Quinque Ecclesiæ closed the discussion with a very able, temperate, and persuasive speech. He admitted that the arguments of the opposition were so weighty that they might perhaps even have convinced himself, but for his great local experience and practical knowledge of the subject. Concession, he argued, had often succeeded. The Basle Council's treatment of Bohemia had strengthened Catholicism in that nation. 'The more firmly you refuse the Cup, the more strenuously will the Germans demand it!' The Bishop added that he preferred to bear patiently many remarks that had been made with what struck him as a deliberate intention to irritate, and ended by repeating very solemnly that, if the Cup be not granted, it were better that the Council had never met.

Speech of the Primate of Hungary.

When the question was put, the Noes had it; but the Legates received permission *to refer the matter to the Pope*. They then got the Mass Decrees finally into shape, added ten trivial reforms of Mass abuses, and proceeded to rush through the Congregations a series of eleven articles on General Reform, of so flimsy a character that the Bishop of Paris angrily protested that far better reforms had been effected in France; that Rome had equivocated for a hundred and fifty years, and that it was now time for realities!

Still, amid a running chorus of growls and murmurs, the Legates steadily plodded along with their routine-business, and, by the day before the Session, had got everything into order. In the final Congregation, they were equally successful. For, in

opposition to the proposal of Granada and the Spaniards, that the following session should be postponed for the sake of the French, and that no special subjects should be fixed for its discussion, the Legates, after hard fighting, carried their demand for a speedy session, and for the treatment of Holy Orders and Matrimony; it being their intention to hurry the Council to its close, and to keep the Spaniards and other advocates of Reform so ceaselessly occupied with the discussion of dogma, as to allow no time for the introduction of unpleasant topics, and, especially, for the revival of the old *Residence* controversy. As a matter of tactics the success of the Legates was complete, for the time being; but, viewed more deeply, theirs was but a Pyrrhic victory; the Congregation was charged with angry passion, it sat until 2 a.m., amid scenes that scandalized most upright men. Still, the Legates were satisfied.

On Sept. 17th the Session was held, with all the usual ceremonies. In addition to the Legates, Cardinals and Ambassadors, it was attended by 180 Prelates. The preacher was the Bishop of Ventimiglia (the Pope's secret minister at Trent). He took for his subject '*The Head*,' observing that the Pauline note of heresy is 'not holding the Head.' Christ is the Head of the Church invisible: the head of the visible Church is the Pope.

Session XXII. Sept. 17th.

The celebrant then read the Mass Decrees of Doctrine and Reform. The General Reform Decree, in eleven heads, dealt mainly with the rights, privileges, and jurisdiction of bishops. It on the whole enlarged their powers (anything to keep them from bringing up the *Jus Divinum*!), but the fatal qualification, 'as

Decrees on Mass, and Reform.

delegates of the Apostolic Chair,' was lavishly employed. Then was read the decree on the Concession of the Cup: 'That the Synod, having reserved the examination and definition of two articles on the Cup, has now resolved to refer the whole matter to the Supreme Pontiff, who, in his singular wisdom, will do what he judges useful for Christendom, and profitable to those who make the demand.' The next session was fixed for Nov. 12th, to decide upon Holy Orders and Matrimony. And the Synod rose.

The 'Cup' question is referred to the Pope.

The Imperial ambassadors greatly rejoiced at the Decree on the Cup, thinking that the Emperor would gain better terms from the Pope than from the Council. But the Emperor did not share their satisfaction! He knew that his subjects were not likely to receive kindly any gift from Rome. When he heard the news, he turned to some ecclesiastics who chanced to be in the presence, and said, 'I have done my best! now, look ye to it, for it concerns you most!'

The Emperor is not satisfied.

But the Pope was full of jubilation, and quite hopeful that the *Residence* question also would be referred to him, in which case, the Council might very soon be closed. He saw only two rocks ahead,—the first was the evident inclination of all the sovereigns to keep the Council open: the other was the expected and much-dreaded arrival of Cardinal Lorraine and his supporters. On this subject, the Pope resolved that if he could not keep Lorraine away, he would swamp all opposition by means of the Italian vote. He wrote to the Legates to this effect, and bade them hurry on.

The Pope is glad and sanguine.

The Pope's sanguine hope of a speedy termin-

ation of the Council was doomed to disappointment. We have now to narrate how it came about that ten whole months elapsed before the next session could be held. In many respects, this apparently barren interval is one of the most significant phases of the entire history of Trent.

CHAPTER VII.

THE TEN SESSIONLESS MONTHS.

[*Sept.*, 1562—*July*, 1563.]

THE Legates lost no time in issuing a series of eight articles on the subject of Holy Orders, which the theologians laboriously discussed. At the very beginning of the debates, the Spaniards held a private meeting, to consider the situation. They were encouraged by the attitude of the emperor and of their own king; and the rumour that the French were about to start, acted electrically upon all lovers of reform. Under these circumstances, they agreed with the Archbishop of Granada that the time had come to press for a declaration of the *Jus Divinum*, not merely of pastoral residence, as heretofore, but of episcopal dignity. This Spanish resolution to insist upon the Divine source of episcopal authority marks an epoch in the history of the Council.

Holy Orders.

The Spaniards again active.

The first step of the Spaniards was to send a deputation to wait upon the Legates, and to urge their demand. The Legates replied that the origin of episcopal authority was not now in controversy. Granada retorted that it was precisely *the* controversy. After warm words the deputation retired, resolving, as their

Their Deputation.

second step, that they would, at the very first opportunity, get the question raised in Congregation by some Spanish theologian—a course which the papalists vainly strove to prevent, by spreading a report that the Legates had strictly forbidden the discussion of this matter!

After much wearisome debate upon Lutheran views of the ministry, and vehement affirmation of the Romish doctrine of the hierarchy, the indelibility of orders, and the sacramental character of the priesthood, the theologians reached the weighty question of 'The superiority of Bishops to Priests.' On this subject the opinion most approved was, that as regards *jurisdiction* the bishop is superior, but that as regards *orders*, he is, though of a higher grade, yet not superior to the priest. But here the Spaniards saw their opportunity, and, on Oct. 1st, played their card by putting up a Pampeluna theologian, who said: 'Let us distinguish! That bishops are, in point of fact, superior to priests is undeniable; but what is the *basis* of their superiority? Are they superior by papal appointment or by Divine? If only by papal law, the Lutherans could not be condemned as heretics for denying that which has no other foundation but human law. They can only rightly be condemned if the dignity of the episcopate is *jure Divino*. I could say more,' closed the theologian, 'but——!' He had already said enough to alarm the presiding Legate. Nor was this all. Fonseca, the Archbishop of Granada's theologian, next sprang to his feet, and declared that this rumoured suppression of free speech was absolute nonsense! 'Bishops,' he continued, 'were instituted by Christ, and are thus superior to priests. If the Pope is the successor of Peter, the bishops

Spanish theologians intervene.

are the successors of the apostles. This view the Fathers hold, and it is affirmed in Bernard's letters to Eugenius. Bishops receive their authority from God!' The Legate Simoneta sat upon thorns, but could not interrupt; for Fonseca spoke reasonably, and had the ear of the congregation. He was then backed up by a rather nervous Dominican, who quoted Cyprian, and went on to say that the Pope was simply the ministerial head, but that it is Christ alone who provides His Church with pastors.

That evening the Legates conferred together. They recognised at once that this was the work of Granada, and that they were bound to take notice of it. So, at the next morning's Congregation, they brought forward Friar Simon, the theologian of Seripandus, who took the ground that 'there is only one bishop who exists *jure Divino*; viz., the successor of Peter. The *episcopate* is of Divine institution; but every individual bishop is appointed by the Pope.' And by way of parrying the very pertinent references that had been made to Cyprian and Bernard, he begged the congregation not to read the ancient authors upon this point, because 'in their time the matter had not fairly come up'! On the other articles proposed there was unanimity; and thus, after this most significant episode, the work of the theologians upon 'Holy Orders' came to a close.

A Papalist answers the Spaniards.

The Legates were so disturbed in mind, that they hurried a courier off to Rome to report this Spanish attack. They confessed that they could not quite see what it meant, but that they surmised that it had some connection with a possible re-opening of the old '*Residence*' dispute. The idea of the Divine obligation

The Legates consult the Pope.

of Pastoral Residence, they informed the Pope, was 'in the air'; sixty very able bishops were its advocates; the ambassadors were clamorous for less dogma and more reform; and if Lorraine comes he will be sure to side with them! The Legates begged for instructions.

The Pope was greatly concerned at the recent news of the recall of the Marquis Pescara from Trent (the Spanish ambassador who had so effectively aided the Legates). His successor, Count Luna, was very friendly with the Emperor, and would not go to Trent until he had watched to its close the protracted Diet at Frankfort. The Pope disliked this Spanish-German *entente cordiale*. And swiftly, upon the news of it, came this latest budget from the Legates, and also a special envoy from France. The Pope handed the Legates' letter to the Consistory, and then received the French envoy, whose tidings were, that Lorraine and his party had actually started for Trent. The Pope expressed his 'satisfaction,' and attempted to draw the envoy as to the probable attitude and intentions of Lorraine; but, receiving only a vague reply that the Cardinal would have to propose 'certain measures necessary for France,' closed the interview by drily remarking that at Trent everything was decided by a majority of votes.

Luna supersedes Pescara.

The Consistory sent full and precise instructions to the Legates. They were, if possible, to get the two questions of Residence and Episcopal Institution referred to the Pope; they were, at all events, to forbid the assertion of the *Jus Divinum* on either subject. Such of the Imperial or French Reform articles as did not affect the Pope or his Court might be *proposed*:

The Legates receive Instructions.

but no decrees were to be passed on them without prior communication with Rome. As for Lorraine, if he could not be kept away (perhaps by the bribe of the Legateship of France, *vice* Ferrara retired), his plans must be swamped by the Italian vote. And the Consistory adjured the Legates to make haste.

Meanwhile, at Trent, on Oct. 13th, the congregation of bishops and canonists held their first meeting to discuss the minutes of the theologians, and to frame the decrees on Holy Orders. And now the Spaniards fought their great battle, with regard to which the earlier speeches of their theologians had been intended as a reconnaissance in force. Granada demanded the immediate declaration of the *Jus Divinum of Episcopal Institution*, adding that this doctrine had really been approved by the Council in the days of Julius. The Archbishop had many arguments, many authorities. He spoke of the early equality of all bishops with the Bishop of Rome; and reminded his hearers that the Pope still calls the bishops '*brethren*,'—an empty compliment, perhaps, but yet eloquently recalling those purer days when the bishops had not been afraid to call the Pope *their brother!* He poured contempt upon the assertion that the apostles were ordained by Peter! 'The tree has only one trunk.' The power of bishops is conferred upon them by God, and not by man. After much interruption, the Archbishop sat down, declaring, with angry fervour, that he left the matter to the nations.

The Spaniards attack in force.

Granada on *Jus Divinum*.

In this and the following congregations there was furious conflict; and Granada's demand was backed up by many great prelates, such as the Archbishops

of Braganza, Zara, and Cyprus, the Bishops of Segovia and Segna, each of whom flung some special light upon the matter. No speech was more-impressive than that of the Bishop of Segna, who said that he had never supposed that there was any doubt upon the matter: 'If bishops have not the *Jus Divinum*, neither has this Council, which is merely an aggregation of bishops. If this assembly has nothing but a precarious authority derived from men, it is illusory and useless. I for one would not have come here unless I had believed that Christ would be in the midst of us.' And the bishop asked the Fathers if they were minded to tell the Protestants that they were not sure of their own authority? He warned them to be very careful, for 'a false decision here will wreck your Council!'

Bishop of Segna's Speech.

Now at last the Legates saw the full force, the fearfully wide range of the Spanish attack! They saw that it meant far more than an indirect revival of the old demand for the assertion of the Divine obligation of pastoral residence. This it certainly involved; but it involved much beside. Its logical corollaries were: the superiority of the Council to the Pope; the equality of all bishops with the Pope; the humiliation of the Cardinals (upon whom one Spanish bishop had made a deliberate and special attack), and the destruction of the privileges and perquisites of the Roman Court. It was really an attack along the whole Papal line! The Legates recognised it as the most daring and dangerous movement with which they had had to contend. They did their utmost to keep the Italian bishops sound, but, such was the attractiveness and cogency of the Spanish argument, that they almost failed,

Horror of the Legates.

They foresaw that the French would support it, and that it must be faced. The Legates now strove to get the question referred to the Pope. But they committed a most serious blunder in putting up the Jesuit Lainez as the Papal spokesman. His stormy and arrogant speech formed one of the most sensational episodes in the whole course of the Council. The gist of it was this: 'The Pope is an absolute monarch, with unlimited power and jurisdiction. The Church lies in total subjection. The one Pastor holds in himself the undivided authority. The bishops have received no power from Christ. It is probable that the apostles were ordained by, and received their authority from, Peter; but, if from Christ, this was a mere accident, and Christ was simply anticipating what was to be Peter's function. It clearly follows that this Council has no authority from God. A Council has merely such efficacy as the Pope chooses to give to it. Without the Pope the Council has no infallibility, no power to bind and loose, no aid of the Holy Ghost. The Papal confirmation alone gives validity to its decrees.'

The Jesuit Lainez as spokesman for the Pope!

Never since the days of Hildebrand had the Papal authority been defined with such naked absoluteness as in this speech of Lainez. The Spaniards listened to it with speechless wrath. And it effectually stirred up the French. The Bishop of Paris said that he would publicly protest against 'this monstrous doctrine—invented only fifty years ago by Cajetan, in search of a hat, and condemned by the Sorbonne'; and, demanded the bishop, with angry scorn, 'How is the Episcopal authority to exist at all, if every new Order of monks deals it some malicious blow? And now

The effect of his speech.

this mongrel Society of Jesuits outdoes all its predecessors by sweeping away the Episcopate altogether!'

The Legates saw their blunder; and in order to allay the tempest they adjourned the Congregations for some days, strictly enjoining Lainez to hold his peace. But the Jesuit was so vain of his exploit that he could by no means be kept in order.

The month of October wore itself away in fierce wranglings between the Spaniards and Italians, and the Council was full of intrigue and passion. The Legates now strove to divert attention from the alarming incidents of the last few weeks by devoting time to Reform proposals. They judged it best to begin with 'Residence,' but were sorely puzzled how to frame a decree that would please the Pope, and at the same time fulfil Mantua's unlucky pledge to the prelates. At last, on November 6th, Mantua proposed a decree making Residence obligatory 'under pains and penalties;' but the revival of the Spanish demand led to warm words, and the Congregation adjourned in wrath.

Lorraine and his party were now in Italy, and rapidly approaching Trent, and, on receipt of letters from him, the Session was formally post-

Lorraine is at hand.

poned until November 26th. Lorraine's temper was described by the messenger as most complaisant and urbane; but the Papalist party awaited his arrival with secret distrust and apprehension.

There is no doubt but that Cardinal Lorraine was coming to Trent as the accredited representative of a nation which had hitherto, ever since the days of Philip the Fair, jealously guarded its rights and privileges against Papal aggression. He was reputed

to be personally favourable to, and earnest for reforms of a nature that Rome dreaded; it was known that he contemplated raising such questions as touched the method of Papal election, the collation of bishoprics, the plurality of benefices, and that he was in favour of clerical marriages, the celebration of Mass in the vulgar tongue, and the concession of the Cup to the laity. These things it is fit to keep in mind, in order that we may notice how far the Papalist dread of the new ambassador was realized. From the hour of his arrival at Trent, the conduct of Lorraine is one of the most salient and governing features of the history of the Council.

He entered Trent, with his very considerable suite, on the 13th or 14th of November. The Legates and many prelates went out a good way to meet him, and the great man was seen to his lodgings with the most punctilious courtesy. In the evening he called on Cardinal Mantua, and, on the following day, Lorraine, Lansac, and Ferrier had formal audience of the Legates. After handing them a royal letter, Lorraine expressed his devotion to the Pope, his intention to be open and frank, and his desire that no thorny questions should be discussed, such as those of Residence and the Episcopate (hinting, however, his own leaning towards the *Jus Divinum* view!). His great anxiety was, he said, to win back the Protestants by sound and thorough reforms. 'My king,' continued he, 'has had to fight the Huguenots, and, unless we get radical reforms, he will have to fight Catholics next!' The Cardinal ended by saying that, after once addressing the Synod in his king's name, he intended to leave all secular and political cares to

Cardinal Lorraine arrives at Trent.

His programme.

his colleagues, and to act himself solely as an ecclesiastic.

The Legates returned him a carefully guarded reply, from which—despite its suavity and evident desire to conciliate—there was not absent a tinge of Italian irony. They were, indeed, very far from believing all that Lorraine had said. They knew that he was in close communication with the Emperor and the King of Bohemia (and possibly with the King of Spain). Simoneta had heard from Milan that the French intended to overhaul the Roman Court, and that they had said that, if thwarted at Trent, they would quietly go home and effect their own reforms in France. And as for Lorraine's expressed intention of keeping clear of secular and political cares, Lansac and Ferrier had repeatedly said enough to make the Legates certain that they would have to deal with the Cardinal as the man in supreme charge of the interests of France.

They immediately sent the Pope the most explicit information on all these matters.

Meanwhile they studiously cultivated Lorraine's friendship and confidence; no easy task, for he was evidently annoyed at the continual pouring of fresh Italian prelates into Trent, and a private dinner-party given by the Arehbishop of Otranto—one of the haughtiest and most violent of Italian Churchmen—was distinctly regarded as an anti-French demonstration.

Very shortly, the Pope sent the Bishop of Viterbo to Trent, ostensibly to do honour to Lorraine, but really to sound him, watch his goings, and place obstacles in his way.

On November 23rd, Lorraine was presented in Congregation, having insisted that his colleague,

Ferrier, should also be allowed to speak. Lorraine's speech was moderate in tone, but he requested, in his king's name, that the Synod would avoid fresh occasions of discord, conciliate the Protestants, and address itself seriously to reforms. Ferrier was far more outspoken. He said that the King of France, were he simply to study his own interests, could end all his troubles in three days! 'We demand only what Constantine demanded at Nicaea,—only what all Christendom demands,—only what is contained in the Bible and in the ancient decrees: we want the Catholic Church restored to its pristine purity. Otherwise, the blood of all who perish will be upon your heads. We entreat you to get to work at once!' This speech was unpalatable, but was heard in silence.

Lorraine and Ferrier address Congregation.

At the next Congregation, the Bishop of Liria made a long speech, for the purpose of explaining to Lorraine the Spanish position, wherein he pointed out that if bishops were not appointed by Christ, neither was the Pope. He added that nothing so helped the Lutherans as the *Jus humanum* theory of the Episcopate. Next day, Lorraine assembled the French bishops and theologians at his own house, and they unanimously agreed to support the Spaniards in the assertion of the *Jus Divinum*.

Lorraine with French resolve to support the Spanish demand for *Jus Divinum*.'

During the Congregations of the early days of December (which were usually excited and stormy), the question of Episcopal Institution again came forward, and Lorraine spoke on the subject very eloquently, but with such ambiguity that the Spaniards were dissatisfied. Nor did the greater heartiness of the other French

Lorraine is not precise.

prelates reconcile them to the vagueness of the Cardinal, who had ended his speech by proposing a formula in which the words '*Jure divino*' were replaced by '*instituted by Christ*.' This formula the Legates sent post-haste to Rome, with a request for instructions. Lorraine complained of this course, as evincing distrust of himself and his prelates. The French were also made sore by much Italian insolence, and a perilous international coldness sprang up at Trent.

And an event occurred just now which slackened Lorraine's interest in the Council. The King of Navarre, who had been chiefly responsible for his instructions, died; and the Cardinal was not sure of the attitude of the Queen-mother. Moreover, foreseeing (as the most competent observers have supposed) great political changes in France, he grew anxious to return to that country, and began to shape his conduct at Trent with a view to that end. The news of the Battle of Dreux, a few weeks later, confirmed him in this course.

Death of Navarre.

Early in the new year, the Pope, rejecting Lorraine's formula on Episcopal Institution, ordered the Legates to propose and push through a definition of his own. But he had no sooner sent off this message than Viterbo arrived in Rome with news from Trent which flung the Pope into vehement wrath.

The French ambassadors had celebrated the new year by handing to the Legates a Schedule of thirty-four suggested Reforms (almost identical with the Imperial Schedule of many months back), and had made it clear that, if this were rejected at Trent, it would be carried out in France, and probably by a

The French Reform Schedule, 1563.

National Council. Viterbo gradually soothed the ruffled feelings of the Pope; and nothing was more efficacious in this direction than a *private message from Lorraine*, to the effect that princes often ask more than they expect to get, and that it will not hurt the Pope to concede trifles! Finally, Lorraine offered his good services towards the settlement of the questions of Residence and Episcopal Institution, which were so hindering the progress of the Council! Now, seeing that Lorraine's colleagues were honestly pressing for real reforms, this private correspondence of their chief with the Pope wears a dubious look, nor is it explicable, in the light of later events, as a piece of dangerous but justifiable diplomacy.

Lorraine comes into touch with Rome!

The Pope ordered the Trent Legates to shelve the whole Schedule, if possible.

A few more days brought another change into Lorraine's kaleidoscopic policy. The Spaniards and French refused to accept the Pope's definition of the Episcopacy (*i.e.*, 'Bishops hold the chief position in the Church, dependent on the Pope, and selected by him to share his responsibility'), and, in order to avoid a contest, the Legates brought up the subject of Residence, on which they had previously commissioned Lorraine and Madruccio to devise a formula. But the Legates altered this formula, and Lorraine keenly resented the liberty thus taken. Now therefore he stood forward as the defender of the freedom of the Council, and complained that they were trying to force a dissolution. He saw the ambassadors of the various powers, and begged them to get pressure put upon the Pope, threatening otherwise to return to France and work for a National Council.

Amid this confusion, the Bishop of Quinque

Ecclesiæ suddenly left for Innsbrück; evidently, thought the Legates, to report to the Emperor, and to devise mischief. As a counter-check they sent Bishop Commendone after him, to explain to the Emperor the non-proposal of the Imperial Schedule of Reforms; and to beg him to deal, in these matters, directly with Rome.

Communications with Innsbrück.

Not long afterwards, the Bishop of Ventimiglia arrived at Trent with an assurance that the Pope was very anxious for the peaceful and free progress of the Council. It is significant that Ventimiglia brought with him a great batch of 'honours' for deserving persons, and a larger batch of promises, a substantial pension for the son of the Spanish Secretary; and, most significant of all, the Pope sent his special compliments to Lorraine, '*to whom we must chiefly look for a speedy and prosperous ending of the Council!*'

The Pope looks to Lorraine!

This message had an instant effect upon the Legates. They begged Lorraine to find an acceptable variation upon the Pope's formula of Episcopal Institution. But he, by no means forgetting their previous botching of his Residence article, was coy. 'The world,' said he, with solemn face, 'is watching us. In France, I am blamed for my moderation! I ought to stick out for the *Jus Divinum!* France will never accept the Pope's formula. She holds the Council to be superior to the Pope.' A few days later, the Legates found their difficulties so increasing, that they so far humbled themselves as to call at Lorraine's house, and entreat his counsel and aid in allaying dissensions. After a due amount of diplomatic hesitation, he consented to oblige them. And one of the first fruits

Who is coy,

But amenable!

of the alliance was that Lorraine quieted the French ambassadors, who were beginning to press angrily for a reply to their Reform-Schedule.

The Legates took advantage of the momentary calm to issue for consideration eight articles on the Sacrament of Matrimony, although they had promised, months ago, that this subject should not be touched until effective progress had been made with Reform.

Matrimony before Reform, after all!

It is possible that this clear breach of compact compelled Lorraine to walk warily, so as to avoid being compromised. What is certain, is that, after a hurried visit from De Rennes, French ambassador at Innsbrück, Lorraine suddenly announced that he was about to start for that city, in fulfilment of an *old-standing* engagement to see the Emperor. He also wrote to the Pope to the same effect, complaining also of the vices of Italian procedure in the Council, and hinting that he might have to adopt other courses. The Legates felt convinced that Lorraine was going to discuss Council matters with the Emperor, and they expected nothing but disagreeable results from the interview.

Lorraine is going to see the Emperor.

Within the week came a letter from the French Government, demanding reforms commensurate with the King's devotion to the Catholic Church. This letter was expounded by Ferrier with even more than his wonted freedom of utterance. The Legates preserved sufficient stoicism to reply half-mechanically, 'The Synod will do its best for Christendom!' But they were uneasy in mind.

The French Government presses for Reforms.

On the next day Lorraine started for Innsbrück, leaving the Trent theologians discussing the doc-

trine of Matrimony. Before they had made much progress with this, Bishop Commendone came back from Innsbrück with a gloomy report. The Emperor, he said, was evidently bent on reforms—resented every hint of the suspension or dissolution of the Council, and, furthermore, was mysteriously consulting his private theologians; but upon what subjects, he (Commendone) had been unable to discover. The purport of these theological consultations at Innsbrück very soon leaked out at Rome. The Emperor had been propounding to his theologians seventeen most ugly questions, relating to the procedure of the Council: questions startlingly bold, all of them showing that the Emperor was in a high state of indignation, and was seriously minded to interfere with a strong hand!

What is going on at Innsbrück?

At Rome there was long and anxious conference. The Pope was much concerned about this new Imperial device of consulting German theologians independently. He finally resolved to send Cardinal Mantua to Innsbrück. But, after Commendone's reception, Mantua did not like the errand. He accordingly excused himself, and wrote these memorable words: 'After two years of it, I can scarcely summon up courage to appear in Congregation, uttering always words, words, words! and fulfilling no promises. They *say* that you do not really mean business!' This proud and pathetic note from the Legate, so near his death, to the master whose toilsome and often degrading service had almost broken his heart, speaks volumes as to the inner history of papal intrigue at Trent.

The mood of Legate Mantua.

Lorraine returned from Innsbrück on Feb. 27th, and found awaiting him a letter from the Pope to

say that Reform work is to be taken in hand at once. Lorraine, in a cold mood, and therefore dangerous, was cruel enough to publish this letter,—and every one at Trent knew that the Legates had received instructions of a flatly opposite character.

Lorraine comes back.

On March 2nd, death released Cardinal Mantua from the burden of his legateship. Throughout these weary months and years he had stood at his post—a singularly impressive figure, shining luminous through a murky atmosphere of mean intrigue and passion—a man, refined, noble, and lofty of character, plunged, against his will, into most distasteful tasks; a target for foul abuse, distrusted and hated by the very Court which employed him in its own despite, a man too rare to be dispensed with. There was in this dignified Cardinal little likeness to Ariel; but there was at least this likeness, that, with ever deepening restlessness and secret pain, he served—Caliban.

Death of Mantua.

Immediately after Mantua's death, two other Legates—Seripandus and Hosius—as if feeling that Trent would be unendurable after the loss of their chief, earnestly implored the Pope to relieve them of their charge. But the Legate Simoneta, seeing at last a chance of undisturbed ascendency, especially with colleagues aged and weary, persuaded the Pope to keep them at their post, and to send in addition two new Legates after his own heart; these were Cardinals Morone and Navagerus, who reached Trent at Easter.

Other Legates are tired of Trent.

Meanwhile, the Pope, growingly embittered against the Emperor and against France, resolved to secure the support of the King of Spain. To this end, he made him various personal concessions, and offered him large sub-

The Pope courts the King of Spain.

sidies on the condition of his assistance in closing the Council 'satisfactorily.' The device was instantly effective, and the first sign of its success was a letter to the Spanish bishops, enjoining them, in their king's name, to support at Trent the authority of the Pope. On March 17, the well-beloved and weary Legate Seripandus followed Mantua to the place where 'the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.'

Death of Seripandus.

These two deaths deeply impressed all better minds. The French ambassadors sought solemn audience of the Legates, and addressed them in language of almost final appeal: 'For eleven months we have been telling you of the sorrows of France and the perils of Christendom. We have urged the reform of morals, and the relaxation of oppressive ordinances. Your reply has always been plausible—but resultless! You have shunned Reform, and your majority is unprogressive and inflexible. Bethink you that great and good men are dying all around you! Do something to relieve your own consciences while time is left you!' But, in face of this touching remonstrance, the Legates preserved their usual sphinx-like mien: 'We are sorry for the delay, but we must wait now until the new Legates arrive.'

Earnest appeal of the French.

At Easter, Cardinal Morone reached Trent, and, after his official reception, left at once for Innsbrück, to attempt that task of conciliating the Emperor, which his predecessor had so proudly declined. Eastertide was also rendered memorable by the arrival of the Spanish ambassador, Count Luna, who came, after much delay, to assume the active duties of his charge.

Morone goes to Innsbrück.

Arrival of Count Luna.

Henceforward, Luna is in some respects the central figure in the Council. The quarrels for precedence between the Spanish ambassador and the French, his views of Council matters, his demands, and the steps he took to secure them, constitute the chief interest of Trent; and our readers may fix their attention upon this Spanish grandee with the consoling reflection that they are now entering upon the closing phases of this complicated narrative.

Before Luna had been a fortnight at Trent, great public excitement was caused by the death of that weighty theologian and papalist, Friar Sotus, who, almost with his dying breath, dictated a letter to the Pope, earnestly advising him to accept the *Jus Divinum* theory alike of Residence and of Episcopal Institution,—the very points which the papalists were bent on resisting. Despite all the efforts of Simoneta to ensure secrecy, the Friar's last testament was published abroad in Trent. It very naturally encouraged the advocates of the *Jus Divinum*.

The Testament of Friar Sotus!

The Spaniards met at Luna's house, and found him by no means inclined to interpret too rigorously the king's instructions as to Spanish subserviency to the Papacy, and—after their experiences with Pescara—to find their ambassador sympathetic was in itself an inspiration! The Archbishop of Granada urged a vigorous attempt to abolish the system of voting '*by heads*,' in favour of the ancient plan of voting '*by nations*,'—a change which, by discounting the numerical superiority of the Italians, would have revolutionized the Council. It is scarcely to be supposed that Granada believed in the feasibility of his proposal. Luna suggested that the first thing to be done was to secure the

The Spaniards alive again.

cancelling of that insidious clause '*Legatis Proponentibus*,' arguing that if once the power of initiating measures were thrown open to the bishops at large, all would go well. The only fault about Luna's plan was that it came two years too late. Still, he stuck to his point with curious pertinacity, in season and out of season, until he gained it.

It was not until May 21, that Luna took his seat in Congregation. He had delayed doing this for forty days, on account of a stubborn (and historic) dispute for precedence between the Spanish and French ambassadors. Lorraine finally compromised, much to the anger of his colleagues, who accused him of yielding the dignity of France to his own self-interested desire to please the Spaniards. Their wrath was vastly increased a few days later, when Lorraine actually dissuaded the Synod from returning a promptly gracious reply to the French envoy Birague, who had come to explain the Treaty of Orleans, and to defend the policy of conciliation towards the Huguenots! Lorraine's unpatriotic and indeed disloyal conduct so enraged the French that they caused Lansac to report it in France. Shortly after this, Lorraine tamely submitted to a deliberate insult from the Archbishop of Otranto; and, yet again, persuaded the French not to reply, as it deserved, to the insolence of Lainez. It is clear that Lorraine had made good progress in the direction of subserviency to Rome.

Lorraine is greatly on the Down-Grade!

Late in June, the Emperor quitted Innsbrück in despair, feeling that his presence there, instead of doing good, simply made the papalists more suspicious and intractable.

The Session had been fixed for July 15, and as

that day was approaching, the Legates decided to omit everything that bore upon Episcopal Institution and Papal Authority, and to propose a compromise on Residence. Lorraine laboured most zealously to bring the opposing parties to terms, and, at last, the proposals were submitted to a preliminary meeting of the chief prelates; but now, as later, Granada obdurately demanded the declaration of the *Jus Divinum* of Residence and Episcopal Institution. Thanks, however, to Lorraine's dexterity, there was good hope that the Session might be held on the day appointed.

Lorraine helps the Legates.

But the way was not yet quite smooth, for, on the evening of the 13th of July, the Spaniards met together, and Granada declared his fixed intention of publicly protesting on the Institution question.

Next day was held a General Congregation. When the vote was taken, the agenda for the Session were approved by 192 prelates, but there was a formidable minority of 49 (chiefly, but not exclusively, Spaniards). Morone calmly thanked the Fathers, and 'hoped that Luna would exert his influence with the Spanish bishops!' But the minority were to be faced at the Session; so, after Congregation, Morone sought an interview with Luna, and promised that, if the Spaniards would accept the Florence formula of the Pope's Supremacy ('The Roman Pontiff, as successor of St. Peter, has a primacy and government over the whole Catholic Church, but according to the canons of the Church'), the Legates would permit the declaration of the *Jus Divinum* of Episcopal Institution!

The Spaniards finally acquiesce.

In the evening, Luna met the Spanish bishops,

and, after much discussion, they agreed, on the strength of Morone's promise, to withdraw their opposition.

And thus ended the ten months of stubborn, sessionless conflict.

CHAPTER VIII.

WINDING UP

On the 15th of July was held the twenty-third Session of the Council. After the usual religious service and preliminary business, the bishop-celebrant read aloud the Doctrinal Decree on the sacrament of 'Holy Orders.' It affirmed a visible priesthood, with Divinely-gifted power to consecrate and administer the Eucharist, and to remit and retain sins. It described seven grades of the ministry, ascending to the priesthood as the climax. This decree was guarded by eight anathemas, wherein the Protestant theory of the ministry was condemned.

Session XXIII., July 15, 1563. Decrees on Holy Orders.

Then was read the Reform Decree, in eighteen chapters; some of the enactments were trivial; others, so far as they went, were excellent; but all were inadequate. The most important was the article which enjoined upon all bishops and clergy the obligation of Pastoral Residence, under severe penalties. It said nothing of the Divine character of this obligation; and it left in the hands of the Pope or of the Metropolitan a dangerous licence of sanctioning absenteeism. The decree read well, but the practical execution of it was quite a different matter. The Spanish bishops assented to the decrees, ex-

'Pastoral Residence.'

pressly stating that they did so by reason of Morone's promise.

It was then decided that the next Session should be held on September 16th, 'for the discussion of Holy Matrimony and other articles of faith, and various matters of Reform.' And, with much relief, the Synod rose.

The Legates were delighted. The sitting had lasted for seven hours, and had been absolutely tranquil. They frankly confessed that they owed this halcyon session mainly to Lorraine. But, on the other hand, between that Cardinal and the Spaniards the events of the session had caused an irremediable breach. They charged him with deserting them, and with playing for the Legateship of France. No excuses that he could offer—and he offered many—could shake their fixed resolve never to trust him again.

Lorraine has been invaluable, but not to the Spaniards.

There was great public curiosity about the decrees of this session. People naturally expected some grand result after ten months of incessant scheming. But there was nothing in the Session minutes worth all this time and trouble. The Germans had no difficulty in tearing to pieces the Trent definition of Orders and Hierarchy. And, to the vain chagrin of the Legates, our old friend Verger, in his quiet Swiss eyrie, made it his business to criticise the decrees, and to describe the wranglings by which they had been preceded.

Europe is disappointed with the Session.

The Legates were full of hope that the next Session would be final. With a view of making it so, they set to work to frame a list of Reform proposals. They also tried to hurry on the treatment of Indulgences,

Next Session is to be final?

Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, by shelving the public disputations of the theologians—that hitherto invariable preliminary of decree-shaping. But Luna demanded that the public disputations should be held as usual, and also that the Protestants should be invited to attend the Council. The Legates urged that the Pope's earnest attempts to secure their presence had been rewarded by contumacious insolence. The Spaniard rejoined that of course they would not accept any invitation from the Pope, but that the Council itself ought to ask them to come, and to induce the Emperor to back up its request. The Legates seem to have dreamed for a moment of the dramatic triumph for the Council which would have resulted from the presence of the Protestants to hear its final awards. They even submitted Luna's proposal to Rome. But the Pope could not forget the weary trudging of the nuncios through Northern Europe, or the stately rejection of his Bull at Naumberg, nor was he deceived by any phantom hope of a Protestant submission. He therefore replied with some displeasure, that the Protestants were irreclaimable, and that the task of Trent must be to widen irreconcilably the breach. He also bade his Spanish nuncio complain of Luna's conduct, and tell the king that much could be done for him at Rome which could not be done at Trent. Luna had succeeded, however, in stirring up divisions among the prelates, some of whom were anxious for a minute discussion of the remaining subjects, especially as there was so little scholastic authority upon them; while this very circumstance made others equally eager to tread as lightly as possible over this undefined and dangerous ground.

Luna objects.

Meanwhile, the Legates pushed on the postponed

subject of Matrimony, and it soon became clear that there would be trouble on the article of Clandestine Marriages, for the cancelling of which there was a strong desire on the part of the French, while others maintained that the dogmatic obstacles to this course were insuperable.

Clandestine Marriages.

The Legates now handed to the ambassadors a schedule of thirty-eight articles of Reform, finding no doubt a delicate satisfaction in thus at last repaying them for similar documents, so vexatious in past days. Luna urged that each nation should draw up Reform articles for itself, and then submit them to Congregation. This course was *opposed by Lorraine*, who also volunteered to the Legates the friendly advice, that the less Reform they attempted the better. The opportunity was too tempting to be lost, and Hosius expressed his ironic surprise at the altered attitude of this quondam stickler for Reform. But Lorraine, equal to the occasion, tartly replied that he had learned to expect little from Trent.

The Legates' Reform Schedule!

The ambassadors retired to study the Legates' schedule, and in a few days their replies came dropping in. The Imperial ambassadors objected to five heads, and desired to add eight. The Legates could with difficulty endure this; but what they disliked was a hint of further suggestions from Vienna. The French reply contained a keen defence of civil rights. The Spanish ambassador generally approved the articles, but coincided with the French in demanding the postponement of the heads bearing on secular princes: he also reiterated his request for national committees on Reform. This being refused, Luna angrily declared that the Council was in chains, and

What the ambassadors thought of it.

that the voting was privately manipulated. Nor did Morone's rejoinder that all nations were adequately represented seem quite convincing, in face of the fact there were one hundred and fifty Italians at Trent, and only sixty foreigners—all told!

Just now there arrived an impatient express from the Emperor, the result of which was that Prague (and Luna!) emphatically demanded that the article on 'The Reform of Princes' should be postponed. Their tone was decided and almost menacing. The Legates (after consulting Lorraine) agreed to defer the obnoxious article, together with several others: so, on September 6th, they issued twenty-one heads of Reform, the congregations on which were to begin next day. In framing these articles, Simoneta had toiled at a very difficult problem—viz., how best to save the Roman Court, and yet to satisfy the world, the ambassadors, and the bishops. The bishops, when they found that the article bearing on 'Kings and Princes' was postponed, at once began to sulk! The Emperor intervenes.

The Legates were making all the haste they could, for the Pope kept sending courier after courier, and was evidently impatient to be rid of the Council altogether.

But very shortly the French ambassadors received a most important letter from their Government. The young King was made to say: 'I have seen the Legates' Reform-articles. They tend to the subversion of the royal prerogative, and the undue aggrandisement of the ecclesiastical power. You will meet them with a prudent but vigorous opposition. You will tell the Fathers that I note with pain their neglect of Church reforms, and their attack upon royal rights and immemorial usages. The power of The French ambassadors get their orders.

the Council is limited to things ecclesiastical. Any attempt to encroach on the civil sphere will be resisted to the uttermost. You will offer masculine opposition, and, if this is fruitless, will, at your discretion, withdraw to Venice.' And it should be borne in mind that Lorraine received an identical note.

The French ambassadors tried to produce an impression by publishing pretty widely the purport of their letter. But it made the bishops so afraid that the 'Reform of Princes' would be dropped altogether, that one hundred of them declared that they would go no further until the article in question were formally proposed. And while the Legates were trying to pacify them, Luna came forward, to make confusion worse, with his curiously energetic demand for the cancelling of the clause, '*Legatis Proponentibus.*'

Luna's demand.

At last, greatly grudging the delay, the Legates got the Session postponed, and postponed until November 11th—two whole months; but it was necessary, postponing at all, to make the period long, for the Pope, having now fastened all his hopes upon Lorraine, desired an interview with him! On the very day after the postponement of the Session, the Cardinal started for Rome.

Lorraine goes to Rome.

His reception was profusely cordial and honorific. The Pope even hinted at his possible succession to the pontificate. The topic of conversation was, of course, the Council, and how to get rid of it. Lorraine advised the Pope to deal openly with the King of Spain,—the attitude of Luna and the Spanish bishops constituting the most embarrassing feature in the Council. So the Pope vehemently complained to the Spanish

His interview with the Pope.

ambassador at Rome of Luna's conduct, so flagrantly opposed to the King's promises. And, not content with this, the Pope addressed an autograph letter to the King of Spain, formally indicting Luna's course of action, 'so opposite to the words of your envoy in Rome. And yet both of them claim to have your authority! *Do you mean to help me or not?*' The Pope writes to Spain.

Lorraine also strongly advised the Pope to conciliate the Emperor, by showing himself not averse to granting the Cup and clerical marriages: and, moreover, warned him that the subject likelier than all others to prevent the swift closing of the Council was the article on the 'Reform of Princes,' and that this would have to be abandoned.

Such were the chief features of this famous interview. It would puzzle the subtlest casuist to prove that Lorraine was now the faithful guardian of the interests, or the exponent of the policy of the nation of which he was the chief ambassador. He had become 'the Pope's man': and, as if to place his inconsistency beyond question, at this very hour when he was abdicating his lofty post as a Frenchman, to become the secret minister of Rome, the French bishops at Trent were, one after the other, slipping home in disgust and weariness; and it was currently reported that they would all be recalled before the closing of the Council, so as not to join in any possible condemnation of the Huguenots.

The Legates, who had been vainly toiling at the vexatious subject of clandestine marriages, now gave out for consideration the remaining portion of their Reform Schedule, to which the mutiny of the bishops compelled them to add, although with great misgivings, the chapter on *The Reform of Princes*. The im- The 'Reform of Princes.'

portance of this chapter demands a brief account of its contents. It consisted of a prologue, thirteen decrees, and a very pregnant epilogue. The prologue asserted the Council's power to deal with the encroachments made by secular princes upon the immunities of the Church, and admonished all rulers to render their due obedience to the Pope, and to conciliary constitutions. This 'obedience' was defined in the thirteen decrees, setting forth, on pain of anathema—the sanctity of Church property, and the immunity of the clergy from civil tribunals, and from taxation; the absolute authority of the spiritual courts, and their power to demand the unquestioning aid of the secular arm; the temporal jurisdiction of ecclesiastics was also affirmed; it was laid down that no civil edict can in any wise affect clerical interests or clerical persons, and that the decisions of ecclesiastical judges, particularly those of the Roman Court, require no *exsequatur* from the secular ruler. It was insolently added that any kingdom claiming privilege from the above regulations, must, within twelve months, submit such claim to the Roman Pontiff.

This was the astounding chapter which had called forth the French King's spirited note to his ambassadors (including Lorraine!), and also a stern letter from the Emperor to Cardinal Morone, to the effect that, as Emperor and Archduke, he would never permit the Council to touch the jurisdiction of princes, or to release the clergy from taxation.

It was not surprising that Lorraine should have urged the Pope to withdraw this monstrous article; but, meanwhile, it had been publicly proposed at Trent, and the duty of the French ambassadors was most abundantly clear. Nor did they shrink from their task. In the Congregation of September 22nd,

Arnold Ferrier delivered his mind: 'For 150 years the French Kings have asked you for ecclesiastical reforms. They are likely to ask them for three centuries longer! Your last month's bunch of reforms is not Isaiah's plaister, but Ezekiel's filthy garment! They make for sedition and anarchy. You wish to abolish the liberties of the Gallican Church, and to insult our King. In France we have had men like Charlemagne and St. Louis. Our bishops ruled the French Church four centuries before the decretals of Isidore. If you press this "Reform of Princes," we shall oppose it to the last. But if you do your duty, you may reckon upon our King to help you!' Ferrier protests!

This magnificent protest was really a Huguenot speech in the guise of Liberal Catholicism. It lashed the papalist prelates into fury, and there was a ring about it that displeased the Spaniards and the German bishops, and frightened many of the French themselves. There arose such a babel of murmurs and objurgations that the Congregation was incontinently dismissed. And then, the chatter and the stormy disapproval that filled the town! And, piercing through it all, the sinister and damning cry of the papalists: 'Had Lorraine been here, Ferrier had not spoken thus!' But loyal-hearted Ferrier said that Lorraine would have done the same. He stuck doggedly to his text, and, amid the execrations of the papalists, and their fierce demand that he should be handed over to the Inquisition, amid the disapproval of such French bishops as loved Rome better than their nation, amid the wailings of the timid, stood like a rock. His colleagues were like-minded. They reported their protest to their The effect of Ferrier's speech.

Government. Such garbled narratives were circulated, that Ferrier had to print his speech. He sent a copy to Lorraine, apologising for being so moderate, and adding that he was bound to stand up for his King and for Parliamentary decisions.

Ferrier cheerfully handed copies of his speech to all who chose to ask for it. An anonymous pamphleteer essayed to answer it, but merely evoked from Ferrier an 'Apology' so pungent as to make matters worse. At this moment of all-prevailing confusion, when the Legates were half-distracted with worry, forward came the inevitable Luna with his punctual demand for the cancelling of the *Legatis Proponentibus* clause; and this time he was so desperately in earnest, that the Legates promised to meet his demand at the next session.

The news of Ferrier's protest deeply agitated the Pope and his Court, and great was Lorraine's annoyance. He devoted all his skill to the explaining away of this 'untoward incident,' and wrote to his brave colleagues, coldly requesting them to moderate their zeal. He had also the audacity to write from Rome to the King of France, and the gist of his letter was: 'This step of the ambassadors was wholly unnecessary. I will try to counteract its ill-effects, but do order them to desist from violent courses. I find the Pope well-disposed towards good and genuine reforms. Christendom is very fortunate to possess so good a Pastor. He is minded to send me back to Trent, in full possession of his holy intentions, and to assist in winding up the Council. The decrees will have to be signed by the prelates and ambassadors; pray order yours to be present at the end, so that they may take part in that solemn function!'

Lorraine's view of it.

The Pope instructed the Trent Legates to give

the French no active occasion for departure, but to let them go if they liked. Their whole energy was to be devoted to winding-up. On October 7th, it was decided to postpone the 'Reform of Princes,' and to confine the next Session to the treatment of Matrimony and the twenty-one heads of Reform. On the following day, the French ambassadors, who had for some time ceased to appear in public, and whose dislike to the Legates' Reform Schedule was by no means overcome by the postponement of the specially obnoxious article, took the final step of withdrawing from Trent. They took up their quarters at Venice; and Lorraine, returning from Rome soon afterwards, took Venice in his way, and would seem to have had a very unsatisfactory interview with his old colleagues.

The French ambassadors withdraw from the Council.

Lorraine reached Trent in time to be of much service to the Legates in dealing with Luna's demand. He cleverly arranged with that ambassador a modification of the *Legatis Proponentibus* clause. Lorraine was full of the Pope's praises, but Granada made the caustic comment that his power apparently was not equal to his good intentions.

Lorraine is again useful at Trent.

But amid the myriad phases of national and class divergencies, the bulk of the prelates were agreed upon one point, namely, that this weary Trent Council should somehow and speedily get itself finished. Lorraine brought back with him the Pope's minute instructions upon this point. The Legates were bidden to look upon him as acquainted with the Pontiff's inmost mind. They were to ratify a decree on clandestine marriages with as close an approach as possible to unanimity. The secular reform pro-

The beginning of the end.

posals were to be withdrawn in favour of a re-declaration of the ancient canons—without anathemas. All disputed points were to be referred to the Pope; the whole Council from the days of Paul was to be affirmed one and indivisible. Papal confirmation was to be sought for each decree, and on all points the authority of the Holy Chair was to be expressly safe-guarded. The Legates kept these instructions secret, and prepared to hold the session, the day for which had now arrived.

After the usual preliminaries, the Bishop-Celebrant read the Decree of Matrimony, together with its twelve canons. These were passed *nem. con.* This was followed by a list of ten marriage reforms. The prohibition of secret marriages was carried against a minority of fifty-six. Then were read the twenty-one Reform Decrees. At certain clauses, increasing the powers of the Inquisition, the Neapolitan and Lombard bishops stormed. Lorraine accepted the decrees 'without prejudice to the privileges, rights, and constitutions of the French Kings.' He also tried to save his honour by saying that he accepted the decrees, but not as entirely adequate, and with the hope that the Pope would supplement them. Some other things were added, and as there were a few differences of opinion, and the day was far advanced, it was resolved that these should be arranged in general congregation, and the Synod rose, after provisionally fixing its next Session for December 9th.

Session XXIV. Nov. 11th.

Luna had been satisfied with a formal declaration that: 'In the words "*Legatis Proponentibus*," the Synod does not intend to alter in any respect the usual method of transacting business in General Councils, nor to add to, or detract from, anything

previously decided by the sacred canons.' Many, however, objected that this declaration was contradicted by facts; and an even weightier criticism found expression in the sarcastic remark that, 'to say this *now*, at the fag-end of the Council, is like giving physic to a corpse!'

The Decrees of this session awakened little public interest. In so far as Europe was thinking about Trent at all, its attention was riveted upon the French Protest. Early in November, the King of France expressed his complete satisfaction with the protesting ambassadors, and bade them remain at Venice until further orders: and, writing to Lorraine, the king significantly emphasized his approval of the Protest, and implied that the cardinal's proviso at the last session had been thoroughly inadequate.

Fortified by their king's approval, the French ambassadors stoutly resisted Lorraine's attempts to inveigle them back to Trent.

Meanwhile, the Legates were making all arrangements to close the Council at the next session. The congregations rattled along with the subjects of Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Relics, Images, regulations for monastic houses (Lainez contriving to get the Jesuits exempted from many rules made for the Regular Orders), the Book-Index, Indulgences (avoiding all thorny questions), the Catechism, Rubrics, and Missals. And their governing motto was: Leave all difficulties for the Pope's arbitration! until, at last, the Bishop of Lerida, angry past endurance at this indecent scamping haste, ventured to remonstrate; but the bishops were so mortally anxious to get away, that they would scarcely listen to him, and all dogmatic questions they shunned like the plague.

The Legates are in a hurry.

On November 25th, Luna handed in a written protest: 'You are rushing over the ground, and stifling necessary discussion! Let the theologians hold their usual debates. Or, at all events, wait until I can ascertain my king's views about closing!' After a long altercation, the Legates referred his demand to the Pope, and Luna wrote to Vargas, the Spanish ambassador in Rome. But all was useless! Vargas had already fought and lost his battle with the Pope. To the Spaniard's demand for the continuance of the Council, the Pope had replied that he would not interfere with the free volition of the Fathers, preferring to leave them that liberty of action which had been so often claimed,—and by no one more earnestly than by the King of Spain. The ambassador persisted, 'You *must* keep the Council open! The world demands it!'. The Pope inquired, 'What world?' 'Well,' said Vargas, 'Spain demands it.' Whereupon, the Pope replied with much irony: 'Bid your countrymen buy a Ptolemy, and study it, and they will discover that Spain is not—the world!' After this there was nothing to be said. The Legates, Lorraine, the Imperialists (the latter probably marvelling that any man could wish to prolong this moribund Council) vainly remonstrated with Luna. Finally, they procured a counter-petition in favour of urgency, and the Legates pushed matters on with the utmost alacrity.

Luna again protests.

Vargas and the Pope.

On December 1st they received news that lent wings to their flight. A courier reached Trent with a message that the Pope was alarmingly ill. The Legates (Lorraine, as usual, in close consultation) resolved to close at once. Luna was the only dissentient.

The Pope is ill; the Council to close at once.

Next day, Congregation hurriedly passed the agenda for the session—Morone meeting all Spanish resistance with the curt reply: 'The Session will be held!' And, that evening, the active Lorraine, aided by the Imperialists, procured Luna's acquiescence, on condition that it should be decreed that the Pope should provide for all matters left unsettled, and also that nothing should be decreed that might prejudice certain Spanish interests. Lorraine appeases Luna.

On Friday, December 3rd, the members of the Council assembled for their last session. After devotions, the sermon was preached by the Bishop of Nazianzen. It was marked by a spirit of superbly audacious optimism. The Bishop began by exulting in 'this most auspicious day, which beholds the temple of God restored, the ship, after fearful tempests, led safely into port! Our joy had been even greater had the Protestants been with us. But their absence is no fault of ours. For their sakes, the Council has been held in the very jaws of Germany: it has dispensed with a military guard, so as to avoid even the semblance of terrorism. The Protestants were invited on the security of our public faith: we waited for them, and besought them to come. For the salvation of their souls the Catholic Faith has been expounded, and ecclesiastical discipline has been restored.' The Bishop then enumerated the dogmatic decisions of the Council, and its corrections of abuses of ritual. He declared that no previous Council had wrought more diligently at dogma and reform. With very admirable dexterity did he tread the delicate ground of the vehement conflicts that had disturbed the Council. They were, he calmly asserted, simply a proof of the

Session XXV., Friday, Dec. 3rd.

An original Sermon.

conscientious thoroughness with which the work had been done. It was not that the Fathers had ever really quarrelled, but, as the heretics would not attend, their opinions had to be set forth as clearly as if they had actually been present! 'And now,' said the Bishop, 'all that we have to do is to go home and execute the decrees. Let us all thank God, and thank the Pope, who has laboured so incessantly for the benefit of the Council, sending his nuncios into remote lands, and his Legates to Trent, and sparing no expense! Let us praise the Legates, our guides and moderators—especially let us praise Cardinal Morone. And, finally and comprehensively, this whole assembly deserves to be praised!'

When all this was over, and the listeners had had time to breathe, and to convince themselves of their personal identity, the Decrees were read. And first, the Doctrinal: Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, the religious use of statues and pictures. Then the Decree for the Reformation of the Monastic Orders in twenty-two chapters (some of them being excellent). Then came the Decree of General Reform in twenty chapters, the last of which was as follows: 'The Synod admonishes Secular Princes, trusting that they will restore all usurped Church rights, will make their subjects reverent towards the clergy, and will not allow their officials to violate the immunities of the Church, but that all will obey the constitutions of the Pope and of the Council.' This modest tag was all that had survived of the arrogant chapter on the 'Reform of Princes' with its stern anathemas! The work of Ferrier had not been utterly in vain. After this, the Legates sprang a surprise on the assembly by proposing and pushing through a canon that had no place on the agenda, to the effect that

The Passing of the last Decrees.

'the Synod declares that all its decrees of Reform are always to be understood as subject to the authority of the Holy Chair'!

The hour was now late, and much remained to be done; so the Fathers adjourned until the following morning. News now came that the Pope was out of danger; but the pace at which the business was pushed on continued to be breathless. Before break of dawn, the session was resumed. The Decrees on Indulgences, on the closing of the Council, the request for Papal confirmation of its ordinances, were rushed along. Then were recited all the decrees made from the very outset of the Council.

Lastly, the Secretary stepped into the midst, and asked, 'Does it please the Fathers that the Council be now closed, and that the Pope be requested to confirm its decisions?' Whereupon, there arose a great and hearty *Placet!* Legate Morone then granted plenary indulgence to all present, bestowed on them his benediction, and bade them thank God. and go in peace. The Council closes.

Then followed a series of acclamations,—as had been the custom at the closing of the ancient Church Councils: with this difference, that whereas; in olden time, the cheering had been left to spontaneous impulse, on this occasion a list of toasts had been carefully compiled, mainly by Cardinal Lorraine. Lorraine also, to the displeasure of all men of refined taste, who thought this office unworthy of a great Cardinal and Prince-Archbishop, acted as fugleman of the applause. Cheers for the memory of Paul and Julius, and for the reigning pontiff; cheers for the memory of Charles V. and all kings who have protected the Council, for the Emperor Ferdinand and all Catholic Lorraine leads the cheering.

Kings, Princes, and Republics; cheers for the Legates and Cardinals, and for all the Bishops! Thus did the Cardinal intone, and the Bishops uproariously responded. Then, in startling contrast, 'Anathema upon all Heretics!' And this wide-stretching 'Anathema'! was the last word that fell from the Council of Trent.

And the cursing.

The next day, Sunday, December 5th, was spent in signing the Decrees. The numbers and composition of the signatories were: 4 Legates, 2 Cardinals, 3 Patriarchs, 25 Archbishops, 268 Bishops, 7 Abbots, 39 Procurators, 7 Generals of Religious orders, and all the ambassadors except the absent French.

Signing the Decree.

The Great Council was now at an end, and its members were soon scattered to the four winds. At Rome there was jubilation unspeakable. But the story of intrigue was not yet over, for the Curia urged the Pope to withhold his confirmation of the Decrees. Finally, on January 26th, 1564, after much deliberation, the Pope confirmed the Decrees, but *reserved to himself the right of interpreting them!*

The Pope's Confirmation.

We have seen what kind of title the Council had to call itself 'œcumenical;' we have also seen how carefully, and in many respects how uselessly, it was watched throughout its whole course by the Catholic sovereigns. Nor did the Council close with the approval of the sovereigns, or amid the unanimity of even Catholic Europe. Germany viewed it with contempt, with indifference, or with a disappointment that bordered on despair. In France there was extreme dissatisfaction, and the burden of it fell upon Cardinal Lorraine. It was said, and truly said, that he had yielded crucial points upon which the settled and ancient thought

Last Words.

of France was clear. He had failed to assert the Council's superiority over the Pope; he had connived at the declaration of the continuity of the Council, which France had steadily refused to recognise. From these and other charges he strove to shelter himself by pleading his scanty array of voters. But he found it hard to explain why, in a list of plaudits mainly framed by himself, there had not been one solitary cheer for his own sovereign! Possibly Lorraine could not, by any efforts, however strenuous and sincere, have altered the final issue; for it is hard to calculate exactly what degree of diplomatic skill, what character of armed force could have gained the day against Romish officialism—so pliant, yet so tenacious; so plastic, yet so fixed. But the conclusion is irresistible that Lorraine, whether of deliberate purpose from the outset, or, as it may have been, by slow stages of temptation, betrayed the interests which,—as a gentleman, as a statesman, and as a French Churchman, although not as a Cardinal,—he was distinctly set to guard. And just as if one were bidden to single out in this long and checquered strife the one man who, above all others, kept his honour unstained and his trust gloriously intact, the unhesitating reply would be Arnold Ferrier; so, were it a task of assigning the primacy of the opposite qualities, it could scarcely be but that out of a sorely bewildering host of competitors, one would be forced to select the man who a few years later exulted over the St. Bartholomew's massacre as indecently as he had led the cheering and the cursing that finished Trent—Charles of Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine.

The King of Spain, too, was equally angry and full of resentment. The Council thus left the seeds of discord in many Catholic nations.

But it was to Italy that the results of the Council, while apparently flattering, were most deeply and permanently disastrous. 'Italy against Europe!' had been the watchword of Trent; and what came of it is described by Edgar Quinet in words as true as eloquent: 'The Holy Chair throve at the expense of the political existence of Italy. The Papacy stifled in that country the breath of civil life; it absorbed the vital forces of Italy. . . . The grass grew upon the civil world as upon the Roman Campagna.'

The stages of that dreary retrogression, and the manner in which it was finally arrested, form the story of another age.

Surprise has often been expressed at the fact that Protestants, while tolerably acquainted with the history of the Romish Church in pre-Reformation times, and with the details of the glorious era of spiritual emancipation, should have so largely ceased to follow with interest the subsequent history of the papacy.

The impartial study of the Council of Trent will tend to remove that surprise. To men who, freed at last from the shackles of human priesthoods and superstitious ceremonies, were walking in the new-found joy of scriptural piety, realizing the blessedness of the new birth and life in Christ as the free gift of the Divine grace, Trent was a sign that the Romish Church had deliberately hardened itself in impenitence. Until Trent had spoken, the errors against which the Reformers had protested might have been regarded as accidents—ruinous to spiritual freedom and evangelical purity of faith and practice, but still accidents, for which the Church at large was not responsible: but Trent accepted and even boastfully asserted those errors and stamped them

with the sign-manual of the Romish communion. Trent was the dogged, cynical, and unblushing defence of a corrupt Church system. Whatever practical reforms it decreed were as nothing when weighed in the balance against its emphatic doctrine of human authority in matters of faith, and its deeply dyed sacramentarianism. If Luther had said before the Council met, 'Rome can give me nothing like the Word of God,' with even greater reason might his followers repeat that declaration after Trent had done its work. The severance was so final and complete that centuries passed before Protestants cared to glance back at that 'cavern of the sphynx, marked out by the bones of its victims.' And this negligence was narrow and unintelligent! The narrowness was surely rather on the side of those who had shut the gates of their Church, and had done so not so much in the spirit of fiery conviction as in that of calculated policy. And the stern antipathy to Rome which followed was the result of a sound instinct: it was vindicated by the subsequent career of the papacy. Not for three centuries did another Council meet. It assembled then to assert a dogma which was the proper coping-stone of Trent—the dogma of Papal Infallibility. What can be said but that that bold speaker at the Old-Catholic Congress at Munich was justified in describing the Romish system as 'a system of errors that has been growing for the last thousand years, and only reached its climax in the dogma of infallibility,' and in adding: 'These errors must be swept away, that we may get back to the simple doctrine of Jesus Christ. His words are spirit and life."

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Butler & Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome, and London.

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Evans, T. Rhys
Council of trent

1888

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